

Yādavas *Through The Ages*



J.N. SINGH YADAV

The Yadus or Yādavas had been one of the five *Janas* of the ancient India. They played an important part in the field of culture, religion, philosophy, history and development of the sub-continent. They gave thinkers like Yadu, Kṛṣṇa, his philosophy of Gītā, of action and devotion; Nemīnātha, the twenty-second *tīrthanāka* of the Jainas; mighty empires, new pastures upto the Central Asia for the advancement of religion, culture and arts. They carried the vedic ideology and culture to the farthest point of South India. They contributed significantly to the cultural advancement of the North equally, patronised art and culture, defended the country from the foreign onslaughts and established republican system of governance much before the Greeks. They constructed strong forts magnificent palaces, places of worship, canals, dams and roads founded cities and capitals, cultivated new pastures and introduced a system of agriculture and animal husbandry. They were the defenders of various faiths and the country.

The Yādavas have been known by different nominatures or sub-names, such as Cholas, Cheras, Haihayas, Sātvatas, Andhakas, Vṛṣṇis, Tuṇḍikeras, Pāṇḍyas, Kalacuris, Rāṣṭrakūtas, Jādejās, Pālas, Guptas, Ābhīras, Ahīras, Idiyans, Wodeyars, Pālavas, Hoysalas, etc., etc. It has been a riddle for the scholars to recognize all these branches of this great community and to give a comprehensive and connected account of the Yādavas of different regions and times. This study is the first attempt to delineate a comprehensive history of the Yādavas from ancient times up to, the modern period. It is a concentrated effort to trace the historical origin of the Yādavas, their expansion, their place in the polity, society and culture, their contribution to different aspects of social, cultural and agriculture, political and cultural life and trade and industry of the sub-continent. The author after a deep and concentrated study of the Vedas, the Purānas, the Upanisadas, mythology, history and allied literature has produced this scientific study of a people who constitute the single largest community of India. Though the Yādavas have adopted many religions, and even castes, this study focuses its lens mainly on the Yādavas who are 'Hindus'. The area of the study has been mainly the political boundaries of India, though, at times, these—

Yādavas
Through The Ages

Dedicated to
my father



LATE SH. HIRA SINGH YADAV

Yādavas
Through The Ages

(From Ancient Period to Date)

Vol. II

J. N. SINGH YADAV

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PREFACE

Coming as I do from the Yadava caste, it was inevitable that I should grow up hearing the name and fame of this caste. As I grew old I became anxious to know more about the Yadavas, their origin and history. But when I made attempts to satisfy my urge for more knowledge and information about this race, I was disappointed not to find much material about the Yadavas in the books.

My grandmother was my greatest teacher to make me learn mythology, religion and history. She was unique in many ways—her style of vivid and graphic description and narration of Puranic happenings and characters, analyses of events, concluding morals and inspiration to live a life of sacredness and morals, was inspiring for me to live. She kept me spell bound in my childhood by narrating orally the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa and other religious myths, occasionally she went on pilgrimage and returned with more religious knowledge to pour it in me. As a result, I became more and more interested in anthology and religion.

But this knowledge was of little use in my school education, which was quite different. Our text-books, particularly, the history books gave an impression that majority of the Indians came from outside and were not indigenous, so on and so forth. The idea of writing out the history of Yadavas was prominent in my mind since my early age, and it grew stronger when I went through the history books and not found conspicuous narration of the Yadavas. The more I read, the more I became determined to write the history of Yadavas. I plunge myself body and soul in the venture. There were many hurdles, but I swam against the waves and succeeded in my efforts at last.

The main difficulty was to identify the different branch-names of the Yadavas in which they were divided at times having little or no knowledge of the other branch. Language, tradition, even religion, region were barriers in recognising each other. Yadavas of north India had not even an iota of information or knowledge of the Yadavas of south India, and vice-versa. In north they were known by the surnames of Yadava, Ahir, Abhir, Gosh, Gwala, Nandavamsi, etc., while in south they were known as Idiyan, Konar, Krishnavaha, Gawali, Hoysala, Wodiyar, etc. One branch considered the other inferior. There was no interaction between different septs/branches of the same region nor inter state relationship. Some of them also embraced Islam and separated from the main root. No scholar made any effort to trace their origin or write their history. The Yadavas were not lucky enough to find some good scribes to record testimony of their valour and historic achievements. While the Rajputs had Col. Tod, the Marathas Grant-Duff, the Sikhs Cunningham, and even the Jats had K.R. Kanungo, the Yadavas had none. The All India Yadava Mahasabha approached Rajbali Pandey to write the history of Yadavas, who miserably failed them.

O.P. Verma, A.V. Narsimha Murthy and Shrinivas Ritti wrote books in seventies on the Yadava rulers of Devagiri and tried to negate the claims of these rulers to be Yadavas. Earlier Fleet and Bhandarkar gave a connected account of this dynasty on the basis of the material then available, in their works. Murthy and Bhandarkar were of the view that these rulers were not 'Yadavas' as claimed by them.

Majority of the historians held false notions about this caste. Some scholars relying upon some puranic description held the view that 'all the Yadavas perished in the fratricidal war at Dwaraka', and hence there survived no Yadava. It is great fallacy and the historians have always misguided and misinterpreted this wrong notion. Yadavas, even in the days of Śrī Kṛṣṇa were divided in various branches and inhabited many different parts of India. So how could they all perish at one time and at one place? The Present study is an humble effort to sweep these misnomers and false notions. The Yadavas had been to different parts of Asia, inhabiting, governing, ruling and going for trade and commerce, marching as armies, as victors, etc. This study traces all the lost connections of the history of Yadavas in particular, and the history of India in general.

At present a good number of Yadavas are settled in Nepal, Mauritius, Indonesia, Thailand, Sri Lanka, etc., and some of them play prominent role in the social, economic and political life of these countries. But the present work does not take note of them, and may be the theme of a separate work.

In the preparation of this work, I have incurred more than the usual number of obligations. It is difficult to mention individually the names of all the scholars whose works have helped me in producing this work. I express my profound gratitude to them. I am greatly indebted to Thiru D. Nagendhiran (Madurai), Thiru Gopal Krishanan, Dr. K.C. Yadav, and all the office bearers of All India Yadav Mahasabha for inspiring the work and helping me fulfilling this great task. I express my sincere thanks to Shri Satakari Mukhopadhyaya for going through the manuscript and making valuable suggestions. I am also thankful to Thiru S. Lakshamna Yadav (Madras), Ch. Harmohan Singh Yadav, M.P., A Balkrishanan (Pudukkattai), Thiru M.N. Maniyani (Kasargod), Sh. Chandrajeet Yadav, M.P., Col. Ram Singh, M.P., Sh. Mulayam Singh Yadav, Sh. Lalu Prasad Yadav (C.M. Bihar), Sh. D.P. Yadav, Sh. Ram Naresh Yadav, M.P., Ch. Balwant Singh, Ch. Bishan Singh, Shri K.P. Reddiaha, M.P., Sh. R.C. Rao, I.A.S., Sh. K.S. Yadav, Dr. J.R. Siwach, Sh. Rai Singh, Sh. N.S. Rao, Dr. J.S. Yadav, Sh. Shobha Ram Yadav, Sh. Satya Prakash Yadav, Sh. Satish Yadav, Sh. Ram Avtar Yadav and Sh. Pratap Singh Yadav (Jaipur) for their encouragement and inspiration to complete the work.

Last but not the least, I am also grateful to my mother, my wife, Mrs. Bhu Yadav, my sons Arun and Surendra and my daughter-in-laws Meenu and Jaya, who always sacrificed their personal comforts and kept me free from all worries. I am also thankful to Anila, Mahabir, Raj Kumar and Virendra, who are a perennial source of inspiration to me. I express my gratitude to my daughters Prof. Krishna and Kamaljeet, who helped me in preparation of bibliography, index and reading the typed copies.

JAI NARAIN SINGH YADAV

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HARYANA

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
Ag	Agni Purāṇa
AIHT	Ancient Indian Historical Tradition
ARIE	Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy
ARMAD	Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department
ARSIE	Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy
ASWI	Archaeological Survey of Western India
Bd.	Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa
BG	Bombay Gazetteer
Bhāg	Bhāgavata Purāṇa
BISMQ	Bhārata Itihāsa Samsodhaka Maṇḍala Quarterly
Br	Brahma Purāṇa
Bṛhadd	Bṛhaddevtā
BV	Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa
CHI	Cambridge History of India
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
DKA	Dynasties of the Kali Age
EC	Epigraphia Carnatica
EI	Epigraphia Indica
Gar	Garuḍa Purāṇa
HV	Harivamśa
IA	Indian Antiquary
IC	Indian Culture
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
Imp. Gaz.	Imperial Gazetteer
JAHRs	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
JAOS	Journal of American Oriental Society
JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JBORS	Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JIH	Journal of Indian History
JOR	Journal of Oriental Research
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society

KI	Karnatak Inscriptions
KSPQ	Karnataka Sahitya Parishad Patrika
Kūr	Kūrma Purāṇa
Lg	Liṅga Purāṇa
Mārḱ	Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa
MI	Mysore Inscriptions
Mat	Matsya Purāṇa
MBh	Mahābhārata
NSI	Numismatic Society of India
Pad	Padma Purāṇa
PIHC	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress
Raghu	Raghuvamśa
Rām	Rāmāyaṇa
Rḡ	Rḡveda
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
SII	South Indian Inscriptions
Śiv	Śiva Purāṇa
Up	Upaniṣad
Vā	Vāyu Purāṇa
Vām	Vāmana Purāṇa
Vadārth	Vedārthadīpikā
Viṣ	Viṣṇu Purāṇa
VN	Vṛhannārḍiya Purāṇa

CHAPTER ONE

THE ĀBHĪRAS OR AHĪRS

The Ābhīras have been described in the history of ancient India as a tribe, which migrated from one place to another, and finally settled in various regions. They are said to have developed a complexity in their culture due to fusion of their tribal with the regional cultures and traditions, which are still living. The problem of migration is one of the most important features of the history of India, which itself based on literary and historical material, is one of the expansion of the vista of the country, which was colonized, physically and culturally by higher communities displacing the established tribals to the hilly regions and forests. The Abhīras or Āhīras are conspicuous example of this rule.

When political condition settled down and a full-fledged state system came into existence, this expansionist urge resulted in the emergence of larger and the smaller states, culminating in the empires of Indian history. The Ābhīras after undergoing the process of migration from South India established kingdoms in northern and western India. It is presumed that this exciting movement of the Ābhīras took place at about the beginning of the Christian era which is not very correct. At that time, their settlements are supposed to confine to Sind, Panjab, Haryana and Rajasthan—parts adjoining to Gujarat, as recorded by the *Mahābhārata*. In the next few centuries, they consolidated themselves in Saurāṣṭra, Gujarat, Mālava and Khānadeśa, south India, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and even in Assam and Nepal. The earliest authentic reference on the Ābhīras can be seen in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (I.2.3) wherein they have been mentioned as a separate caste and have been associated with the Śūdras. Other sources of our information, among others, are—*Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, *Padma-Purāṇa*, *Mricchakaṭika*, *Prabodhacandrodaya*, *Pratijnayaugandharāyaṇa*, and a lot of other literary works.

Etymology of the terms Ābhīra, Gopa, Ghoṣa, Gwāla, Ghosi, Ahira, etc.

Different appellations have been employed for the Ābhīras in Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Pāli literature. Some European scholars¹ have attempted to discuss the etymology of the word Ābhīra or Ahīra. Beams, quoting an oral tradition, divides the term 'Ahīra' into *ahi* and *hira*, the first meaning a 'snake' and the latter meaning a 'lover'.² Thus the word *ahīra* means a

1. Law, B.C., *Tribes in Ancient India*, Poona, 1943, p. 79; Elliot, *Races of N.W.P. of India*, Vol. I, London, MDCCCCLIX, p. 305.

2. *Ibid.*

‘lover of snakes’. But it is a fanciful derivation and at no time Ahīras reared snakes. Colonel Walker traced its origin from word *aheri*, i.e., a hunter.³ This is also not correct, as Aheris or Aherias are a low caste hunting people found in Uttar Pradesh, and have nothing to do with Ahīras. Atkinson derives the word Ahīra from the Sanskrit word *ahi* and illustrates it with the similar sounding words having the syllable *ahi* as prefix viz., Ahichatra and Aheśvara.⁴ He corroborated his presumption after considering the story of Hīra, an ancestor of Ahīras who cherished snakes and fed them with the milk of his cows. It has been suggested, on the basis of relationship between the Sanskrit word *ahi* of Ahīra and the word *nāga*, that the Ahīras and the Nāgas of Gujarat probably belonged to a common lineage.⁵ Taranath Tarkavachaspti derived the literal meaning of the term after dividing it into *Abh-ira* meaning fearless people.⁶ According to C.V. Vaidya, the Ahīras are Draviḍians (Indians), which seems more near to truth.⁷ It proves that the Āyars of South are the Ahīras of North and Ābhīras of Sanskrit. ‘H’ and ‘bh’ are interchangeable.⁸ H.C. Raychaudhary also supports the Draviḍian origin of the Ābhīras.⁹ V. Kanakasabhai Pillai derives it from the Tamil word Ayīr, which also means a ‘cow’. He equates the Āyars with the Ābhīras.¹⁰ L.D. Barnett discusses the problem of the Āyars further, and observes that the Āyars were the prototype of the Ābhīras, who inhabited the Tamil States of the Pāṇḍyas, Cholas and Cheras in the earliest times.¹¹

Sunit Kumar Chatterji is doubtful whether the letter ‘a’ in Ābhīra has the same import as the Draviḍian ‘a’ in Ayara, and G.V. Tagore supports him.¹² In the early Tamil works the letters ‘ay’ means ‘a cow’. In *Kuralventa* of the *Trikural*, written about the 1st and 2nd century B.C., there is a phrase *ayayan kunram*, which means, ‘the produce of a cow’. In the famous Tamil poem “*Manimekhalai*”, there is a character named Ayputra, who has been described as ‘the son of a cow’.¹³ The story has been described like this :

“There was a Brāhmaṇa at Vārāṇasī well-versed in the Vedas with his wife Śālī. Having fallen from her conduct, she wished to get rid of her sin by bathing in the sea at Kumārī, which was prohibited to her in this condition. She gave birth to a child in course of her journey, but left the child weeping in a garden and went her way. Hearing the weeping of the child, a cow came there and started licking the child and gave him milk. Thus the cow kept the child for

3. *Bombay Gazetteers*, VIII, p. 134.

4. Atkinson, *Statistical description and Historical Account of North Western Provinces of India*, Vol. I, Allahabad, 1874, p. 268.

5. *Bombay Gazetteers*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 264, fn. 5.

6. *Vāchaspatyāma*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1873, p. 758.

7. *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. II, p. 65.

8. *Śabdakalpadrum*, Vol. I, Calcutta, Śaka 1808, p. 78.

9. Raychaudhary, H.C., *Early History of Vaiṣṇavite Sects*, Calcutta, 1920, p. 91.

10. Pillai, V. Kanakasabhai, *Tamil 1800 years ago*, Madras, 1904, p. 57.

11. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 596.

12. Budhaprakash, *J.B.R.S.*, XL, pp. 258-59.

13. *Manimekhalai in its Historical Setting*, Aiyangar, S.K., London, 1928, pp. 143-45.

seven days. A Brāhmaṇa who was passing that way discovered the child, and assigned it to his wife. The youth after getting education was called Ayputra or a 'cow's son'. In the *Śilappadikaram*, a Tamil classic, the terms Āyar and Āyarpadi means 'cowherd' and the 'house of a cowherd', respectively.¹⁴

Needless to say that none of the above derivations have any historical basis, yet it shows intimate relationship of cows, Brāhmaṇas and Ābhīras is conspicuous. The authors of above stories had a faint idea of the old connection of Yayāti with Devayānī—the daughter of Śukra—the Brāhmaṇa sage. Thus Yādavas had adopted cow-rearing as their main profession by the time they reached Tamilnadu, and these illiterate people only had a memory of their origin, and the local poets narrated the origin of Yādava-Ābhīras in their own style. It is quite explicit that the mother of Yadu was a Brāhmaṇa and the progeny of Yadu took to animal husbandry as their major occupation. The traditions of the Āyars recorded in the *Sangam* classics seem to be the prototype of the traditions of the Ābhīra-gopas mentioned in the *Harivamsa* and the *Bhāgavata* which are much later works than the classics. The Āyars came to the South with the Pāṇḍyas.¹⁵ This shows that the Āyars of the *Sangam* classics were not originally the residents of south India but the immigrants from the North. The legends of the cowherd Kṛṣṇa, and his romances in the forest life, recorded in the *Sangam* literature, suggest that these traditions were possibly brought to the south by the Āyars, which, in courses of time, not only arrested the attention of the poets of *Sangam-age* but enthused their imagination. Therefore, the appellation Āyar is at least as old as that of Ābhīra, if not more. Āyars of Tamil are the Ābhīras of Sanskrit and Ahīras of Prākṛit.

Ghoṣa

Ghoṣi is the modern equivalent of Ghoṣa. Undoubtedly the term Ghoṣa is also prevalent in some parts of Bengal and Assam. Etymologically the term Ghoṣa, being derived from the Sanskrit root *ghuṣa*, meaning 'to shout', is an indicative of the profession of a cowherd,¹⁶ as he shouts while herding the cattle. The *Mahābhāṣya* refers to the *Ghoṣas* at several places. In his *sūtras* 2.4.10 Patañjali questions—*Kah punarāryanivāsah* and answers that they are the *grāma*, *ghoṣa*, *nagara* and *samvaha*.¹⁷ Here, each term denotes the sense of settlement. The

14. *The Śilappadikaram*, translated by V.R.R. Dikshitar, Bombay, 1939, pp. 229, 231-234.

15. Kalitogai, 104, vide Rev. Heras, S.J., *Studies in the Proto Indo Medeterranean Culture*, Vol. I, Bombay, 1953, p. 119.

16. *Nāmalingānuśāsan of Amarsimha*, with the two commentaries *Amarakosodghāṭana* of Kshiraśvāmin and *Tikāsarvasva* of Vandyaghatiya Sarvānanda, ed., by T. Ganapati Shastri, Part I, 2nd Khanda, Trivendrum Sanskrit Series XLIII, 1915, p. 43, *Hermann Grassmann Worterbuch zum Rigveda*, Leipzig, 1936, p. 427; *A grammatical Dictionary of Sanskrit (Vedic I, Phonetics)* by Suryakant Sastri Vyakaranatirtha, Delhi, 1953, p. 96.

17. Keilhorn, *The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali*, 2.4.10, Vol. I. Bombay, 1892, p. 485; Vasudeva Sastri Abhyankara, *The Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya*, Poona, 1956, II, p. 465; V.S. Agarwal opines that ghoṣa was a small village of Ahīras, Agarwal, V.S., *Panini Kalin Bharata*, Benares, Smt. 2012, p. 79.

contiguity of *grāma* and *ghoṣa* referred to, clearly indicate that the *ghoṣas* were a settlement of some people like a *grāma*. In *sūtra* 7.3.14, the entity of *ghoṣa* as a distinct settlement near the villages of Aryans is apparent,¹⁸ Kātyāyana advocates the cause of the *ghoṣas* to be taken in the *saṃgha*.¹⁹ In the *sūtra* 3. 2.110, Patañjali gives an illustration which means 'let us go to the *ghoṣa* and we will take milk there'.²⁰

The *Mārkaṇḍeya* contains the tradition of cowherds roaming about from one place to another in search of new pastures.²¹ These moving cowherd settlements were also called *ghoṣas* which carried their pots and pans on bullock carts. According to another tradition the later stage of these *ghoṣas* have been revealed, when they were settled in the vicinity of a village surrounded by lofty ramparts, though their entity was separate.²² According to *Vayu*, *ghoṣas* are not nomadic settlements but a separate unit in a village.²³ The *Rāmāyaṇa* also draws the same inference.²⁴ The lexicographer Amarsinha equates the term *ghoṣa* with *Ābhīrapalli*.²⁵ The commentator Kṣīrasvāmī explains the suffix *palli* to mean 'a village' or 'a dwelling place'.²⁶ But the original significance of the word *Ābhīra* is not a cowherd. It is the name of a race, whose occupation was tending of cows, and consequently the name became equivalent to a 'cowherd' in later times.

There is, however, a definite relationship between the terms *ghoṣa* and *Ābhīra*. It should be noted that the *Mahābhāṣya* indirectly reflects upon the profession of the *Ābhīras*, to denote the *dvanda* compound. In the same context he has used some phrases viz. *gohalivardam*, which means cows and bulls, and *gāva utkālitapunsakā vāhayaca vikrayāyaca*, means that 'the cattle are driven out, purchased and sold'. These phrases, indirectly point out to the profession of the *Ābhīras*. Throughout the whole Sanskrit and Prākṛit literature, the *Ābhīras* have only been portrayed as professional cowherds from the earliest times. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata described the language spoken in the *ghoṣa* (or *ābhīrapalli*) as *Ābhīrī* or *Śābarī*.²⁷ It is well known that *Ābhīrī* was the language of the *Ābhīras*. The use of *Ābhīrī* further proves that the *ghoṣas* were the settlements of the *Ābhīras*. To date, the languages of the Yādava-*Ahīras* are quite distinct from that of others.

Gopa or Gopāla

Earliest meaning of these words were the masters, protectors, producers, rulers, administrators, etc. Later on, these were referred for the profession. The appellation with

18. *Mahābhāṣya*, III, p. 320, Abhyankara, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 179.

19. Vol. II, 4.3.127, p. 319. Abhyankar, Vasudeva Sastri, IV, p. 253; *Kāśikā Vivaraṇa Panjikā*, Vol. I, p. 1013.

20. *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. II, 3.2.110, pp. 117-18.

21. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, Calcutta, 1904, pp. 241-42; Agarwal, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

22. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

23. *Vayu*, ch. 30, 10; 3, 2, 40.

24. *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, ch. 83, 15.

25. *Amarkośa*, 1894, p. 64.

26. *Nāmalingānuśāsana* of Amarsimha, *op. cit.*

27. *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, ed. by Kedarnath, Bombay, 1943, p. 275.

profession gives an idea of a milkman. This term has its modern derivations as Guāla, Golla, Gawāliā, etc. The Ābhīras were cowherds by profession, and though they acquired kingly dignity, yet the fact that they were professional milkmen remained in the memory of the people. That is why the term *gwāla* has so freely been employed by the panegyrist of the Hoyasalas, Kalacuris and Yādavas.

The Ābhīras in ancient Sanskrit literature

In the epics and the Purāṇas, the terms *gopa*, *gopāla* and *ghoṣa* has been used in their respective terms *gopāla* and *Ābhīras*.²⁸ They all belonged the race of Yadu, whose progeny was called the Yādavas of ancient historical books, *Purāṇas*, *Mahābhārata*, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āṃyakas*, etc. Budhasvamin, in his *Bṛhatsatkathāślokaśamgraha* refers to the story of an Ābhīra who lived in a *ghoṣa* where *Ābhīra* and *gopa* both the terms have been used for the same people.²⁹ The *Brahma* specially used the terms *gopāli* and *ghoṣakanyā* while referring to the mother of Kālayavana, the famous enemy of Kṛṣṇa,³⁰ while at another place in the same Purāṇa, the *gopālas* have been described as living in the *ghoṣas*.³¹ The term Ābhīra, *gopa*, *gopāla*, *gvāla*, *ghoṣa ghoṣi*, *gvāliā*, *gvali*, etc. are the professional appellations used for those Yādavas who tended cows in pastoral age and adopted agriculture later on. *Gopā* was also the name of the wife of Buddha, and *Sujātā* was the daughter of a Yādava king who served dessert to Buddha, who was on fast for a long time and after eating the dessert Buddha attained enlightenment.

According to some authors, the origin of the Ābhīras is steeped in obscurity.³² Though there are many references about the Ābhīras in ancient Indian literature, hardly any of them throw any light on their origin.³³ In support of their argument they quote *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali who mentions them as a tribe distinct from the Sūdras, but no information about their origin is available from it. The *Mahābhārata* depicts them living with the predatory forest tribes.³⁴ According to the *Bhuvanakośa* chapters of the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas these forest tribes were organised in the form of *gaṇas* of the mercenaries and freebooters, hostile to Aryans. But in later references they have also been connected with the fourfold order of the society. According to an interpolation in the *Manusmṛti* the Ābhīras were born of an Ambaṣṭha woman and a Brāhmaṇa father.³⁵ Hemacandra opines that the Ābhīras, being

28. *Mahābhārata*, *Mauśalparva*, ch. 7, 221, 233, 16, 8, 45. *Viṣṇu*, V. 38, 14.49

29. *Bṛhatsatkathāślokaśamgraha* of Budhasvāmīna, ed. by Lacote, Paris, MDCCCXVIII, ch. XX, Śloka 235-56.

30. *Brahma*, 13, 48-50.

31. *Ibid.*, 103, 14.

32. *The Ābhīras*, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Mahābhārata* IX, 37, 2119.

35. *Mānavadharmasāstra* with commentary of Govindaraju, edited by V.N. Mandik, Bombay, 1986, Vol. II, 1288.

cowherds (*gavādyūpajīvi*) were a section of the Vaiśyas.³⁶ There are so many other fascinating make-believe stories invented by prejudiced minds. It is due to lack of knowledge of historical background of the country and its people.

Some scholars, specially foreigners, have branded the Ābhīras as foreign hordes upon Indian soil which seems to have been based upon the purāṇic evidences. The Purāṇas have used the term *mlecchas* to the Ābhīras. The term *mleccha* has been taken by Devadatta Bhandarkar in respect of the Ābhīras to mean 'a foreigners',³⁷ and he opines that Ābhīras were foreigner, who made incursions into India. V.A. Smith, A.B. Keith and W.W. Tarn are in agreement with D.R. Bhandarkar, but assign different periods of their entry into India.³⁸ In the *Śatapatha*,³⁹ this term has been used for persons having wrong pronunciation. Monier Williams means it in the sense of non-Aryan—one who does not speak Sanskrit and an unbeliever of Hindu ritual.⁴⁰ This term has not rigidly been used in the Sanskrit literature in the sense of a foreigner especially in the Epics and the Purāṇas. In its modern sense it is used for a person not confirming to the traditional Hindu rites and customs. This striking continuity of the traditional concept of the term *mleccha*, from the *Śatapatha* to the modern age, leads us to suggest that the term '*mleccha*' may better be taken in the traditional sense and not as a foreigner, especially in the Epics and the Purāṇas, which are the depository of ancient Indian lores. Dandīn (*Kāvyaadarśa*, 36) mentions the Ābhīras as a non-Sanskrit speaking tribe. But there is nothing new in these arguments. They were agriculturists, rural, inhabiting mountainous regions, forests, rearing cattle and often wandering from one place to another in search of new pastures for their animals and new cultivable lands to plough. How could they speak Sanskrit—the language of cultured people living in cities. They evolved their own languages and system to govern, a democratic society befitting their own needs and circumstances. The *Matsya* or the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali also do not support the theory of foreign migration of Ābhīras.

Incidentally, the Buddhist, Jain or Greek sources do not give the slightest indication of any Ābhīra migration into India in any period of Indian history. All the available sources unanimously portray their well-settled life in the country, directing their activities to pastoral pursuits. The theory of foreign migration, however, is based merely on speculation than on evidence. The scholars do not agree about the period of their migration. A.B. Keith suggests it to be before 150 B.C.⁴¹ while W.W. Tarn places it just after Alexander's death.⁴² In order to examine the possibility of the Ābhīra migration, it is advisable to analyse the events that took place in the above period. The historians of Alexander clearly inform us that Alexander appointed *Satrapas* all over his empire (if it existed in India at all) which was divided between

36. Hemacandru, *op.cit.*, p. 522.

37. *IA*, XL, Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population, p. 16.

38. Smith, V.A., *op.cit.*, p. 200.

39. Weber, *The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Berlin, 1835, p. 325.

40. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, p. 837.

41. Cf. fn. no. 1, p. 26.

42. *Ibid.*

his generals immediately after his death. In such a political upheaval when there was a great rising in the country against the foreign rule, the migration of foreign tribes should have been difficult, if not impossible. The possibility of migration was even lesser in the time of a strong Mauryan rule.

The death of Aśoka was followed by the establishment of the Indo-Greek power in Western Panjab, the North-Western frontier provinces and Sindh. It is said to be in 6th century B.C., that Patañjali speaks about the Ābhīras settled in India as a caste (*jāti*). Had Ābhīras been not well known to the people at that time, the famous author would have not selected them as an example to illustrate a '*dvanda*' compound, which proves their long 'establishment in India'. William Hunter's opinion that the Ābhīras were Scythians has been based upon the customs of a widow marrying the younger brother of her deceased husband.⁴³ This is absurd as this custom had been approved by the *Manusmṛti* long before the advent of Scythians in India. Some scholars on the basis of ethnographical survey, tried to identify Ābhīras with the Tribes of North-West Frontier of India.⁴⁴ The theory is too far-fetched to ascertain the origin of any caste, and hence rejected by the scholars since then. Thus, the theory of the foreign origin of the Ābhīras is based on mere speculation and therefore not tenable. As stated earlier, the medieval writers and copyists had used the word '*mleccha*' to the Ābhīras.⁴⁵ This term has been taken by D.R. Bhandarkar in respect of the Ābhīras to mean 'a foreigner'.⁴⁶ The term also meant a 'foreigner', 'non-Aryan', unbeliever of Hindu rituals; and 'non-Sanskrit speaking' people.⁴⁷ The *Śatapatha* accepts these meanings. It has been used for a person not conforming to the traditional Hindu rites and customs, which leads us to suggest that the term *mleccha* may better be taken in the traditional sense and not as a foreigner. According to C.V. Vaidya, the Ābhīras were not foreigners but aboriginals of the Dravidian race.⁴⁸

With the passing of time the Yādava-Ābhīras developed their language, culture, religion, customs, socio-economic and political system, and rituals. They despised brāhmaṇas and more than that their way of life and thought, that is, Brāhmaṇism. In place of Sanskrit, they devised new languages—Pāli, Prākṛit, Ābhīrī, Sauraseni, etc. Instead of Vedic religion, they had *Bhāgavata* or *Śātvata dharma* as their way of life, which came to be known in later times as *Vaiṣṇavadharma*. They discarded the Brāhmaṇical rituals and devised new ones. The Yādavas were progressive, dynamic and energetic people. They opened new vistas in every walk of life—music, dance, fine arts, archery, government, wrestling, breeding, scaling high peaks, inventing new devices, discovering new ideologies, philosophies, etc. The contribution of these people to India in particular, and the world in general, is immense. Their languages—Prākṛit and Pāli, were used by the great reformers of this country, i.e., by Buddha

43. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, p. 837.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Viṣ.*, 5.38.13 *Mat.* 50-70.

46. Bhandarkar, D.R., 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population' *Ind. Ant.* XL, p. 16.

47. Weber, *op.cit.*, p. 325.

48. Vaidya, C.V., *op.cit.*, p. 65.

and Mahāvīra. Pargiter is of the opinion that all the early Purāṇas were written in Prākṛit and were later on translated into Sanskrit, and the authors of these were Kṣatriyas.

The most significant feature of the Ābhīra traditions is homogeneity and to a certain degree continuity of their traditions. Yet, wherever they migrated, they adopted the local caste and kinship. The tradition ascribes their common origin from Mathura and gradual migration to distant places.⁴⁹ In South, they consider themselves as immigrants from the North. Some of them marched to South as milk and other provision suppliers, while others went in search of new areas. Some of the surnames of the Yādavas in Madhya Pradesh still preserve the memory of their ancient homes in Uttar Pradesh, e.g., Jujhoṭiā named after Jujhoti or Jujhoṭa an old village in district Etāh, and *Kanaujia* from Kanauj. The Āhīras of Purnea district of Bihar cherish the tradition of their original home in Vṃdāvana. They named their new abodes after the name of old settlements, as Nandgaon, Barsana, and even Mathura in the south most end of India—pronounced as Madurai by Tamilians.

Yādavas and Rajputs

The origin of the Rajputs is also shrouded in obscurity. Some of them trace their origin from the oldest Sūrya and Candra—Solar and Lunar—vamsas of Bhāratavarṣa, while others take them to be the descendants of the foreign invaders who invaded India, became its rulers and were Indianised later on. There is much confusion on this point. The foreign authors, in particular, had created a problem and mystery about the origin of the Rajputs. The inscription of Kharvela says that good Brāhmaṇs had fled away from the land of Rāṭhikas and Bhojas. Kalhaṇa mentions in his Rājataranginī that the receiver of Agrahāras from Mihiragula in Gandhāra were the meanest Brāhmaṇas. The priestly class thought it necessary and very much in their own interest to try to share in the donations and charities from the kings. With this end in view, the Vaśiṣṭhas are said to have organised a fire sacrifice at Mount Abu in Rajasthan and many of the newcomers were 'purified' by fire. They were given the name of Rajputra, meaning the sons of kings or rulers. Though no direct record of the 'fire sacrifice', as to when and by whom, etc., is available, yet latter proofs may be produced in support of this as under:

1. The inscription of Chālukya Viradhavla and Som Simh Paramāra of 1287 V.S. says: "From the sacrificial altar of Vaśiṣṭha sprang up their ancestor Paramāra. In that family there was first Dhūma Rāja and then Dhandhuka".⁵⁰
2. The Patanarayana (Sirohi) inscription of 1344 V.S. says: "... the sage Vaśiṣṭha created Dhauma Rāja from a fire pit on Arbuda (Mount Abu) to bring back his cow, and invested him with Paramāra jāti and his own gotra".⁵¹

49. Elliot, *Memoirs on the History, Folklore of the races of N.W.P. and O. of India*, ed. by Beams, Vol. I, MDCCCLXIX, p. 3.

50. *EL*, Vol. XX, p. 71.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 96 (serial no. 677).

3. The prāsasti of Chālukyas of Vaḍanagar of 1151 A.D. “.....at the request of the gods, to protect them from the *dānavas*, Brahmā when performing the *sandhyā* ceremony produced the hero Chālukya from the Ganges water in his hollowed palm...”⁵²
4. Mahakūṭa inscriptions of Mangaleśa : “The body of Pulkeśin-I was purified by the religious merit of oblations performed after celebrating *Agni-stoma* and other sacrifices: that he was descended from Hirnyagarbha (Brahmā), accepted admonitions of the elders and was good to the Brahmins”.⁵³

S.C. Chakravarty writes: “... the hordes of Northern people came to India and when they occupied different parts of Āryavarta and obtained political power, they could no longer be looked down upon as *Mlecchas* or impure ... so they were Indianised and made Kṣatriyas... The term *vrātya* has probably applied to these ruling races who, either by some vedic ceremony or in course of time, when their true origin had been totally forgotten, came to be regarded as Kṣatriyas...”⁵⁴

According to D. Ibbetson: “It may be that the original Rajput and the original Jat entered India at different periods in its history, though to my mind the term Rajput is an occupational rather than an ethnological expression. But if they do originally represent two separate waves of immigration, it is at least exceedingly, probable, both from their almost identical physique and facial character and from the close communion which has always existed between them, that they belong to one and the same ethnic stock; while, whether this be so or not, it is almost certain that they have been for many centuries and still are so intermingled and so blended into the people, that it is practically impossible to distinguish them as separate whole... I think, the distinction between Jat and Rajput, being social rather than ethnic”.⁵⁵ Referring to the times of the Arab invasion (8th to 11th century A.D.), Budha Prakash observes, “the word Kṣatriya is seldom met with, and the term Rajput had not yet become current.”⁵⁶ P. Saran maintains that the word Rajput in the ethnic sense is not used until the tenth century A.D.⁵⁷

Thākura

- (i) The word was first used in Prākṛit and thence became current in Sanskrit.
- (ii) At first, it signified a tribe but later on it became an honorific and was employed as such by men of prestige and position.
- (iii) This name Thākura was given to the Kṣatriyas or warriors but later on it came to be used by the Brāhmaṇas also and lastly, it became a synonym for God.

52. *El*, Vol. I, p. 301.

53. Aggarwal, V.S., *op. cit.*, p. 441-42.

54. *IHQ*, Vol. IX, pp. 446.

55. *Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, pp. 362, 364.

56. *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 23.

57. *SIH & C.*, p. 243.

- (iv) That this word was not current in the literature of the early period.
- (v) This word was borrowed from some exotic, i.e., foreign source.⁵⁸

The 36 Royal clans of Rajput families

Generally the scholars have mentioned of 36 kulas or clans of Rajputs or Kṣatriyas. A cursory glance over it clearly shows that this list only mentions the Kṣatriyas of North, and no effort has been made to include the Rajputs or warriors of the south or east, perhaps the term 'Rajput' was not in vogue in these regions. The list of these 36 families is mentioned in Kalhaṇa's '*Rājatarangiṇī*,' '*Prithvirājārāso*' of Candabardāi, and *Kumārpālacarita*. These 36 clans are allowed to give and take daughters from one another. These confining themselves to a close group must have taken place about the end of the second or the beginning of the third sub-period of the medieval Hindu age.

The list given in Rāso of Canda

In this list 1. Ravi (Sūrya), 2. Śaśi (Candra), 3. Jādhava (Yādava) cannot be included as these three are the main *varṇas* of the Kṣatriyas and not clans. The 36 clans, as described by Canda, are as under:

1. Kakutstha - Kacha - Kuśavāha
2. 'Paramāra
3. Sadāvara - Tuara - Tomara
4. Chahuvāna - Chohāna
5. Chālukya - Solanki
6. Chhandaka - Chandak - Chanda - Chandela
7. Silāra-Śilāhāra
8. Abhiyara - Ābhīra - Ahīra
9. Doyamats
10. Makavāna - Makavāṇa
11. Garu (some interpret as Gujara— I found a sub-caste of Jāṭas who call themselves as Gurus, Tod omits).
12. Gohila
13. Guhilota (Gohilaputra)
14. Chāpotakala - Chāvaḍā, Chhābaḍā
15. Parihāra - Paṇihāra - Paṇahāra
16. Raṭhoḍa - Roṭhavā
17. Rosajuta (omitted by Tod).

58. Budha Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

18. Deorā
19. Tāka - Tānka
20. Saindhava - Sindhu - Sandhu
21. Aniga (Tod gives Anaga)
22. Yautika (Tod gives Ananga)
23. Pratihāra
24. Dadhiṣaṭa (Tod gives Didiot)
25. Karattapāla - Kāṭha
26. Koṭapāla
27. Hula (Mohanlal interprets it as Hūṇa).
28. Haritaṭa (omitted by Tod)
29. Gaura
30. Kamāśa (Kalāśa)
31. Maṭa (omitted by Tod; Jāṭa in the Gujarāṭi Mss of *Kumārāpālacarita*)
32. Dhānya - Pālaka
33. Nikumbhavara
34. Rājapāla
35. Kavinīsa.
36. Kalacchuraka - Kalacuri

Obviously the list is incomplete and does not include clans of south India. In this regard C.V. Vaidya⁵⁹ writes: "The question whether Jāṭas, Gujaras and Marathās are Aryan or Scythian is strangely enough still being controverted. It admits, however, according to our view of one solution only, viz., that they cannot but be Aryans. This view is based chiefly on anthropometrical considerations and it is also supported by history. It is indeed strange that even after the publication of H. Risley's views based on anthropometric measurements taken at the census of India in 1901 their origin should still be a matter of controversy. Those measurements clearly show that the nose of Jāṭas and Gujaras are distinctly fine and that their heads are long. It is sometimes argued by H. Risley's opponents that noses may be made fine and heads may be lengthened by manipulation. But this argument cuts off the very ground from under the feet of the science of Anthropometry.

"The similarity of sound has often misled antiquarians into strange theories and the attempt to identify the Gujaras with the Khizaras is not less strange than the now generally abandoned identification of the Jāṭas with the Goetoe. The Jāṭas are distinctly included by Risley among the Indo-Aryans... The case of the Gujaras also falls in the same category..."

The Aryans did enter into and settle in the *Deccan* long before the beginning of the Christian era, is universally accepted by all scholars. On the other hand history tells us that the Śakas or Scythians invaded the *Deccan* in the first century A.D. and that their stay in the *Deccan* was limited to about 25 years only, being finally driven away by Sātavāhana Gautmiputra of Paiṭhana. If this is so how can the people of the *Deccan* be Scytho-Dravidian?

59. *History of Medieval Hindu India (From 600 to 1000 A.D., Vol. I, pp. 75-76.*

How is that the Aryans who settled in the province long before the Scythians came have left no trace of their blood in the population? That they settled here is a fact which cannot be gainsaid.'

The date of settlement of the Aryans in the *Deccan* is placed by R.G. Bhandarkar⁶⁰ in about the 7th century B.C. on the ground that Pāṇini did not mention the settlement of Aryans in the *Deccan* in his *sūtras* or grammatical rules. He further writes: 'And now to our point, the Indian Aryans had thus no knowledge of Southern India previous to the seventh century B.C.; they had gone as far as the Northern *circars* by the eastern route, but no farther, and the countries directly to the south of the Vindhya they were not familiar with. About that time, however, they must have begun to penetrate still further, since they had already settled in or had communication with the countries on the northern skirts of the Vindhya and Kalinga and first settled in Vidarbha or Berar, approaching it still, it would appear, by the eastern route; but in the course of some time more they crossed the Vindhya and settled in Daṇḍakāraṇya along the banks of the Godavari, that is, in Mahārāṣṭra or the *Deccan*'.⁶¹ C.V. Vaidya also accepts this theory as "incontrovertible".⁶²

These views are influenced by the findings of the alien scholars who interpolated our history. The period of Pāṇini is not settled one. D.S. Trivedi⁶³ testifies that Pāṇini was alive in 1637 B.C. or in 1465 *Kali Samvat*. According to him Kātyāyana was in 1636 B.C. that is, during the period of Nanda dynasty, whose period is B.C. 1636 to B.C. 1536. Hence the entry of Aryans in *Deccan* was much earlier than envisaged by Bhandarkar and others. Secondly, Arjun, the Haihaya king, was ruling at Mahiṣmatī much earlier to the advent of Dāśarṭhi Rāma in Daṇḍakāraṇya. Thirdly, Yadu, the eldest son of Yayāti was given the southern part of India to settle and rule. Therefore the Yādavas were living in the *Deccan* much more earlier than envisaged by Bhandarkar and others. The later Haihaya rulers were in league with the Rāvaṇa (king) of Lankā in the times of Sagar, the grandfather of Rāma, but Sagar, who was the son of Haihaya king's daughter, gave a crushing defeat to his maternal uncle, subdued him and forced him to alienate himself from the Haihaya-Bānar-Rāvaṇa alliance.

We also do not agree with C.V. Vaidya that "these Aryan settlers in Berar and the *Deccan* were Aryans of the Lunar race, i.e., of the second race of Aryan invaders who came through the Gangetic basin and who principally occupied the hot lands of the Madhyadeśa to the south of the Ganga and the Yamuna".⁶⁴ These Aryans were neither the 'invaders', nor foreigners as misconstrued by alien writers, but they were the original inhabitants of India. Central India and *Deccan* was the original home of the Yādavas. He further writes: "We have this tradition preserved in the story of Śrīkṛṣṇa given in the *Harivaṃsa* which is certainly the oldest Purāṇa extant. The *Harivaṃsa* says that when Śrīkṛṣṇa fled from Mathurā against the threatened invasions of the city by Jarāsandha, he was asked to go to the four countries in the

60. *Early History of Deccan*, Varanasi, 1975, p. 18.

61. *Ibid.*

62. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

63. *Indian Chronology* (8231 B.C. to 1963 A.D.), Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, 1963, p. 18.

64. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

Deccan which were founded by four sons of Yadu. These four sons of Yadu by Nāga wives, it is said, had founded four kingdoms: one in Mahiṣmati, another on the tableland of Sahyādri, a third in Banavāsi and the fourth in Ratanpura on the southernmost sea. This tradition clearly indicates that the people who settled in Dakṣiṇāpath had one Bhoja king. Thus purāṇic tradition clearly indicates that the Bhojas and the Raṭṭas were born of Aryans of the Lunar race. Foreign evidence also substantiates the same theory. In the *Periplus*, this part of the country is described as *Ariake* or the country of the Aryas, a name given probably on set purpose to distinguish it from *Damarike*, i.e., the country of the Dravidians immediately to the south of it....”

It proves beyond doubt that Bhojas, that is, Yādavas were residing and ruling in *Deccan* before the Bhārata war, and the war took place, even according to the foreign scholars, before 950 B.C. to 1450 B.C. Even if this may be taken to be correct, the presence of Aryans (Yādavas) is proved much earlier than what R.G. Bhandarkar admits. The Mahābhārata war was fought in 3137 B.C.,⁶⁵ 36 years before *Kaliyug* began. Our scholars attach more credence to the writings of foreign scholars than to our own historical writings. The presence of Yādavas in South India is proved by abundant evidences of Purāṇic, historical and foreign sources. It is not correct to say that all people were born of Aryan fathers and Dravidian mothers. Though it might not have been impossible, but the migrants would have taken their women folk with themselves. Taking wives from other races might not have been a taboo in early ages, but purity of blood was zealously preserved even in those days. If we find mention of some of the branches of Yādavas in the *Rāmāyaṇa* residing and ruling in the South when Rāma invaded Lankā, we are still on solid ground to prove that the Yādavas have inhabited the South much before the *Bhārata* war. Dāśarathī Rāma was born in *Tretā*, much earlier to Śrī Kṛṣṇa who was born in *Dvāpara*. Residing and ruling for such a long time in South, the Yādava progeny must have multiplied in crores. Even to date, the descendants of those Yādavas are inhabiting Tamilnadu, Kerala, Āndhra Pradesh, Karmāṭaka, Mahārāṣṭra, etc. Their colour is black, but most of other features resemble with their brethren in other parts of India. They have the same traits as other Yādavas in different parts of the country.

R.G. Bhandarkar in his '*Early History of the Deccan*'⁶⁶ writes: "A chronological conclusion based on the occurrence of certain words or names in the great epics is not likely to be so safe. Though a *Mahābhārata* existed before Pāṇini and Aśvalāyana, it is highly questionable, whether our present text is the same as that which existed in their times. On the contrary, the probability is that the work has been added to from time to time; and the text itself has undergone such corruption that, no one can be positively certain that a particular word was not foisted into it in comparatively modern times. The text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* also has become corrupt, the additions do not seem to have been made to it. But the date of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is uncertain. Hindu belief based on the Purāṇas is that Rāma's incarnation is older

65. The other dates are: Bentley 575 B.C.; Pargiter 950 B.C.; Pradhan 1351 B.C.; H.H. Wilson 1370 B.C.; K.P. Jayaswal 1424 B.C.; Samsastri 1613 B.C.; History of Bihar 1867 B.C.; S.C. Vidyabhusan 1922 B.C.; Satyavarata Samasrami 2400 B.C.; Kalhana 2448 B.C.

66. *Op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

than the *Mahābhārata*; but is it not a little curious that while there is an allusion to Vāsudeva and Arjuna and Yudhiṣṭhira too in Pāṇini, and Patañjali frequently brings in *Mahābhārata* characters in his illustrations and examples, there is not one allusion to Rāma or his brothers or their father Daśaratha in the works of those grammarians? Even a much later author, Amarsimha, the lexicographer, in his list of the synonyms of Viṣṇu, gives a good many names derived from the Kṛṣṇa incarnation, but the name of Rāma, the son of Daśaratha does not occur, though Rāma or Balabhadra, the brother of Kṛṣṇa is mentioned. Still, whatever chronological value may be attached to the circumstances, the occurrence of the names of places in the *Deccan* contained in those epics I have already to some extent noticed. Sahadeva is represented to have subdued the Pāṇḍyas, Daraviḍas, Udars, Kerals, and Āndharas, and also to have visited Kiṣkiṇḍhā, which was probably situated somewhere near Hempi, the sight Pampā Lake or river, where Rāma met Sugrīva, the monkey chief though the country Kiṣkiṇḍhā is placed by the Purāṇas among those near the Vindhya. He went also to Sūrparaka, the modern Supārā near Bassen, Daṇḍaka, the same is Daṇḍakāranya but not mentioned as a forest, Karahāṭaka the modern Karahad on the confluence of the Kṛṣṇa and the Konia and to others...”

As stated earlier Bhandarkar rarely put reliance in our epics, though much has been described in the ancient books about the South. We do not know the reason why Pāṇini or Patañjali have not mentioned the names of Rāma or his brothers in their works. It may quite be possible that Rāma had not been included in the list of incarnations till the times of Pāṇini, Patañjali or Amarasimha. Perhaps it was after their times that Rāma was incarnated in comparison to Kṛṣṇa. It is beyond doubt that Kṛṣṇa and his brother Balarāma were worshipped even in their life times and till date, but the worship of Rāma started, perhaps, in the sixth century A.D. In rivalry of Kṛṣṇa, the scholars (Brāhmaṇas) glorified Rāma, and his images along with his consort Sītā and his step-brother-cum-servant Lakṣmaṇa were prepared. Some of the scholars are of the view that the worship of Rāma started in 6th century A.D. and at that time the word ‘Rājaputra’ or ‘Rājaputa’ came into vogue. Therefore if the names of Rāma or his brothers or their father Daśaratha do not find mention in the works of Pāṇini, Patañjali or Amarasimha, it is understandable in the light of above fact. The only contribution of Rāma in the political history of India is that he subdued Rāvaṇa and destroyed the Bānara-Rāvaṇa alliance of the South. As a social reformer he practised monogamy in contrast to polygamy prevalent in his times, even his father Daśaratha had more than one married wife. But when he was included in the list of incarnations of Viṣṇu along with Buddha and Mahāvīra, he was worshipped and accepted as a God. It also proves beyond doubt that the Yādavas were settled in the South India much before these foreign scholars can think of.

We may advert to it in a general way in order to show how the tradition of the Bhojas and Raṭṭas being descended from Aryans and Aryans of the Lunar race continued to be entertained among the people down to the seventh century A.D. In the time of Agni Mitra (supposed to be in second century B.C.) Vidarbha was ruled by Mādhava Sena and Yajana Sena—clearly Aryan and Kṣatriya, names. From the second century B.C. to the third century A.D. Mahārāṣṭra was ruled by the Sātavāhanas who called themselves Āndhra-Bhṛtyas but

the people were called Raṭṭas and the Mahārāṭhis as inscriptions of their time testify. After these Āndhra-Bhṛtyas (Yādavas), the Rāṣṭrikas again asserted their independence and it seems certain that from the third century A.D. down to the sixth Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings ruled in the *Deccan*, for the Chālukyas in their inscriptions say that they established their power by conquering a Rāṣṭrakūṭa. Now the Rāṣṭrakūṭas are in inscriptions represented as descendants of Sātyaki, a Yādava well known in the purāṇas. Thus the two leading Marāṭhā families who ruled Mahārāṣṭra were Yādavas.⁶⁷ A large number of prominent Yādava families still exist in Mahārāṣṭra today. C.V. Vaidya is of the view that 96 families' traditions of the Marāṭhas are not imaginary productions but are supported by inscriptions' records which go back to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. According to both of them the Jādhavas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Rāṭakuṭe in the modern Maratha books, represented by Māle, Khandrāle, etc.,⁶⁸ are believed to be Lunar race Kṣatriyas.

Bhandarkar writes:⁶⁹ "... The Rāṣṭrikas, the Sanskrit of which name is Rāṣṭrkas, ... has from the remotest times held political supremacy in the *Deccan*. One branch of it assumed the name of Rāṣṭrakūṭas and governed the country before the Chālukyas acquired power. It re-established itself after about three centuries, but had to yield to the Chālukyas again after some time. In later times, chieftains of the name of Raṭṭas governed Sugandhavarti or Saundatti in the Belgaum districts. In the thirteenth edict the Petenikas are associated with Bhojas instead of Raṣṭrikas. Bhojas, we know ruled over the country of Vidarbha or Berar and also in other parts of the *Deccan*. In the inscriptions in the caves at Kuda⁷⁰ the name "Mahābhoja" or great Bhoja occurs several times, and once in an inscription at Bedsa. Just as the Bhojas called themselves Mahābhojas, the Rāṣṭrikas, Raṭṭis, Raṭṭhis or Raṭṭhas called themselves Mahārāṭha, the Sanskrit of which is Mahārāṣṭra. In the second and the thirteenth edicts, the outlying provinces of the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, Keralaputras (Cheras) and the Āndhras and Pulindas are mentioned. Thus about a hundred years before Patañjali the whole of the southern peninsula upto cape Comorin was in direct communication with the North, and the *deccan* or Mahārāṣṭra had regular kingdoms governed by Raṭṭas and Bhojas." The Yādavas inhabited and ruled the south India from earliest times. They made south India their abode, contributed their best in culture, religion and development of the region. They fought for its protection and sacrificed their lives for the betterment of the people and land.

V.K. Rajavade, the well-known historian of the *Deccan*, contents that the Chālukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Yādavas who brilliantly ruled the South were foreigners. Bhandarkar also supported the theory. But both of them are wrong. As stated earlier Yadu and his progeny got the southern part of India as their share of empire of Yayāti. The Yādavas made the south territories ruled by them their home and they never thought of returning to north, supposed to be their traditional home. There is nothing in their rule or their family connections which would suggest, much less prove that their in the *Deccan* was a foreign rule. The Muslims

67. *Op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

68. *Ibid.*

69. *Op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

70. *Kuda inscriptions* No. 1, 9, 17, 19, 23 and *Bedsa* No. 22, *Arch. Survey of West India*, No. 10.

wrote the Indian history and then, based on their chronicles, the Britishers wrote and made it invader-oriented. As they were outsiders, they tried their best to declare every prominent Indian caste as an outsider.

The claims of Brāhmāṇas for recognition as a distinct levite class, of divine origin, and possessed of supernatural powers; were rejected by the Kṣatriyas, who insisted with perfect truth, that many of the Ṛṣis who composed the *Vedas* were kings and warriors rather than priests, and that no authority for the pretensions of the Brāhmāṇas could be found in the *Vedic* legends. There are traditions of a great struggle having taken place between the Brāhmāṇas and the Kṣatriyas, in which the latter were completely victorious. The details of this quarrel, however, are obscure, for the Brāhmāṇas, as exclusive custodians of the sacred writings, took care to efface all references to a struggle which, from its very existence cast a doubt on their pretensions to a divine origin. It may here be noticed that many of the Aryan tribes rejected the theory of Brāhmaṇical supremacy. Thus the earlier settlements west of the Indus never adopted the principle of caste.

Perhaps no question connected with Indian ethnology has been more frequently discussed than that of the origin of the Jātas. According to some authorities they are Aryans of the same stock as the Rajputs, and the name of their race is simply the modern Hindi for *Yadu* or *Jadu*. Others maintain that they are Indo-Scythians, identify them with the *Jatti* and *Getae* or Goths of the classical geographers and even go so far as to assert that they are of the same race as the Magyars and Gypsies of Eastern Europe. According to Crowther there is a strange resemblance between the Magyars and the Jātas... It may be doubted whether Sikhs, Afghans, Jews, Scythians, and Magyars were not all originally of one stock.

According to Denzil Ibbetson, "It may be that the original Rajputs and original Jats entered India at different periods in its history, but if they do represent two separate waves of immigration, it is at least exceedingly probable both from their almost identical physique and facial character, and from the close communion which has always existed between them, that they belong to one and the same ethnic stock. It is, moreover, almost certain that the joint Jat-Rajput race contains not a few tribes of aboriginal descent though it is in the main Aryo-Scythian".⁷¹ The distinction between Jats, and for that purpose Ahirs, Gujjars, etc., and Rajputs is social than ethnic. Those families of the Aryo-Scythian stock whom the tide of fortune raised to political importance, became Rajputs, almost by mere virtue of their rise, and their descendants have retained the title with its privileges by observing the rules by which the higher are distinguished from the lower castes in the Hindu scale of precedence by refusing to intermarry with families of inferior rank; and by rigidly abstaining from widow marriage and refraining from menial and degrading occupations. Those who transgressed these rules fell from their high estate; and were reduced, some to the grade of a Jat or cultivator, others that of a Gujar or herdsman, or an Ahir or a milkman.

Historically speaking the word *Gujara* or *Gurjara* occurs from about the 7th century A.D. and prominently in the work of Bāṇa and Hiuen Tsang. The former mentions them as being

71. *Panjab Census Report* of 1881.

conquered the Huṇas; while the latter mentions two Gujara kingdoms one in Rajputana at Bhinmāla and the other at Broach. From this, historians suddenly jump to the conclusion that the Gujaras were foreigners who came into India along with the Huṇas in about the 6th century.⁷² But Smith is candid enough to admit that the Gurjaras are believed to have entered India either along with or soon after the white Huṇas and to have settled in large numbers in Rajputana, but there is nothing to show what part of Asia they came from or to what race they belonged.⁷³ There is no mention anywhere in history as to where from, when and whether the Gujaras, came into India from outside. It seems that this is merely a suggestion made by bias and in defiance of the ethnological argument which clearly proves that the Gujaras belong to the Aryan race.⁷⁴

C. V. Vaidya⁷⁵ regards Jātas as Aryans. The ethnological characteristic of Jātas according to him, are clearly Aryan. They are fair, tall, high nosed and long-headed. It may be stated at once that the Jātas have very little history of their own till we come to quite recent times when the Jāta kingdoms both Hindus and Sikhs in Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Panjab, were founded. We find Jātas mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as *Jatā* in the Kāmāparva. The next mention we have of them is in the sentence *Ajayajarṭo Huṇan* (अजयजर्टो हूणन) in the grammar of Candra of fifth century. And this shows that the Jātas were the enemies of the Huṇas and not their friends. The Jātas opposed and defeated the Huṇas; they must, therefore, have been the inhabitants of Panjab (and Haryana) and not invaders or intruders along with the Huṇas.⁷⁶ Vaidya regards Jātas the 'viś' of the *Vedas*. Though treated as Sūdras by modern opinion owing to their being agriculturists, and the practice of widow marriage, Vaidya regards them 'the purest Aryans in India and belong to the first race of Aryan invaders, the Solar race of Aryans who originally invaded and settled in the Panjab, being the first settlement of the Indo-Aryans in the country'.⁷⁷ But like others, Vaidya is also wrong in treating Aryans as 'outsiders and invaders'.

So far the ruling families of Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Panjab are concerned, they all trace their origin in Yādava community and feel proud of that origin. The Jāta warrior Sūrajmala of Bharatpura, whose statue is in the Birla *mandir* at Delhi, is ascribed as the 'Yādava king'. The erstwhile ruler of Patiala, Mahārājādhirāja of Patiala was called '*Bhaṭṭikula Bhūṣana*' and '*Yadukula Avtansa*'. The other Phoolkian states of Panjab trace their origin in Bhattikula, a branch of Yādava race, so the many states of Himachal Pradesh. The Yādavas residing in many parts of Panjab, Himachal, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, etc., either became Jātas or Rajputs as it was in vogue in those days. As many Jātas, nay almost every Jāta, of contemporary Panjab, take pride in to be addressed as '*Sirdar*', irrespective of the fact that he has five symbols or *Kakārs* of Sikhism or not. Similarly in fifth or sixth century

72. V. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., pp. 322, 412.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 412.

74. C.V. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 83.

75. *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

B.C. the new Jāta confederation might have come into existence and many agricultural castes, including the Yādavas were compelled by the unknown circumstances to join this new social set up and became Jātas. Similarly many of them joined the Rajput confederation. We find many Yādavas thus joining one or the other confederation. The Jātas were anti-traditionalists or anti-Brāhmaṇas and the Rajput confederation being the opposite of it. As is evident from the writings of foreign and native scholars that Yādavas, Ahīras, Gujaras, Jātas and Rajputs belong to the same ethnic group and later on became culturally different. But foreign element absorbed by the Jāta and Gujara confederations cannot be ruled out. The Rajputs are not a separate caste, but a group of supposed superiority adhering to a different social and moral code, not practised by Yādavas and Jātas. The Gujaras remained socially backward in the national milieu, despite their making fine warriors and very able rulers in the medieval times. They have been regarded a bit inferior in social hierarchy by the Jātas who in turn were treated as such by the Yādavas. But it is the political power which makes some caste inferior or superior at a given time.

It is plain and simple truth that the rulers of any or every caste behave in segregation, and regard themselves superiors to others. It is the power of politics, wealth, land holding or official status which effects the behaviour of a particular caste or group of persons. In pastoral age, a person was superior who possessed more cattle wealth and a number of husbandmen to tend his cattle. In agricultural stage, feudal lords held the sway, while in capitalism industrialists or people having more money and wealth rule the masses. They have nothing to do with their caste-fellows. Rich mix with rich only. Similarly, the warriors, administrators and rulers had formed a separate class—the Rajputs, in the medieval period. Undoubtedly, many of them did not leave their caste appellation in spite of the fact that they became the Rajputs. The Yādavas, who became the Rajputs, still address themselves as the Yādava Rajputs, and trace their ancestry from Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Yadu.

Genesis of the Dictum Kalāvādyantyah Stithih (कलावाद्यान्तः स्थिति)

C.V. Vaidya⁷⁸ writes: “We have not yet been able to trace the above dictum, meaning that there would be only two (Brāhmaṇas and Sūdras) in the *Kali* age, to its original source. We find it quoted by Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa of Benares in his work *Sūdrakamalākara* but he did not plainly believe in it as we shall presently show and hence perhaps he merely says “in some Purāṇas” (*Purāṇatare*) when he quotes it, we have not yet been able to fix upon the Purāṇa which contains this oft quoted line. It is most probably an imaginary line first quoted by the above Pandit of Benares who cannot, however, have been its originator”. Vaidya quotes some Kinjavadekar Śāstri of Poona well versed in *Mīmāṃsā* who points out *Mahābhāṣya* or commentary on the Sūtras of Pāṇini, Patañjali says, “a Brāhmaṇa even though without necessity should learn the *Veda* with its six *Angas* and understand it”. On this line of the

78. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 312-13.

Bhāṣya (circa 150 B.C.) of Patañjali, there is no comment in the gloss of Kaiyaṣa (who wrote his work about 600 A.D.). Nagojībhāṭṭa of the 14th century A.D. in his commentary named 'Udyota' says,

"Some one says that in using the word Brāhmaṇa the Bhāṣyakāra intends to suggest that this learning the *Vedas* is optional with others." Vaidyanatha Mahadeva Payagunde of the 16th century, who has written a *Chhāyā* on the *Udyota* remark: The writer of *Udyota* expresses his disapprobation of the opinion in using the word 'Kascit' some one for this reason viz., that the two (*Varṇas*) Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas are expressly enjoined by the *Smṛtis* to study the *Veda* and hence the opinion that its study is optional with them is contradictory of the *Smṛti* injunction. Therefore (in the opinion of the *Udyotakāra*), the word Brāhmaṇa in the Bhāṣya sentence should be taken to include all the three *varṇas* by *Upalakṣaṇa* (suggested inclusion) and therefore the sentence means also that Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas have to study and understand the *Veda*. But (we think) the sentence is proper and mentions Brāhmaṇas only in order to indicate that in the *Kali* age there are no Kṣatriyas nor Vaiśyas. For a *Smṛti* says "in the *Kali* age there are no Kṣatriyas and no Vaiśya castes. There are in *Kali* age only two *varṇas* viz., Brāhmaṇas and Śūdras". The editor Sivadatta who published the *Udyota* with the *Chhāyā* of Payagunde tacks on the remark: "To suppose that the *Veda* (study) is regulated by *Kaliyuga* is not sensible and hence the word Brāhmaṇa includes by *Upalakṣaṇa* the three *Varṇas*".

The above is a curious illustration how views based on the same original text change and toss from one side to another as times change. It may be that when Patañjali wrote his *Bhāṣya* after the general spread of Buddhism, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas mostly become Buddhists and had given up the study of the *Veda*. Many Brāhmaṇas also were doing the same and Patañjali thought that it was the duty of the Brāhmaṇas even without necessity to study the *Veda*. He, therefore, supposed to have written the sentence above quoted with reference to the actual state of the country, Brāhmaṇas now being responsible for the preservation of the *Veda*. In the medieval ages, all *varṇas*, except a few Brāhmaṇas, had given up learning the *Vedas*. Under such circumstances, the dictum must have come into existence, 'sometimes between 1300 and 1600 A.D.'⁷⁹ and it had certainly no existence before 1200 A.D.⁸⁰ In the time of Kumārila (circa 650-700 A.D.), there was no such idea in the mind of any writer on *Dharmaśāstra* that there were no Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas in the *Kali* age. For Kumārila distinctly says in his disquisition on the word 'Rājā' in his *Vārtika* (p. 587) that there were in his time kings of all the four castes reigning. The question was whether the word "Rājā" in the Sūtra (*Rājā Rājasūyena yajeta*) meant a Kṣatriya and the eventual answer given by him after discussion is that the word meant a Kṣatriya. Now this clearly establishes that he not only believes that there were actually Kṣatriya and Vaiśya kings in his days but there would be Kṣatriyas in times to come and that Kṣatriya kings alone could perform the Rājasūya

79. *Ibid.*, p. 314.

80. *Ibid.*

sacrifice. It is, therefore, certain that the dictum '*Kalavādyāntayoh sthithi*' had not arisen in the days of Kumārila. In inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Silāhāras and the Yādavas, they are certainly represented as Kṣatriyas. Someone may point out that these were documents drawn up in praise of kings by royal orders. But we find Vijnaneśvara an authoritative writer on *Dharmaśāstra* not doubting that there were Kṣatriyas in his days. He would certainly have stated so in his commentary where he discusses the question of the *gotra* of Kṣatriyas by adding that the question was not important in the *Kali* age. His commentary belongs to the 12th century. Then again, Hemādri, also an authoritative writer on *Dharmaśāstra*, does not desist from describing the Yādavas descendants of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and therefore Kṣatriyas. No doubt, it may be objected that he was a minister to the Yādava king Rāmacandra. But this eulogy of the Yādavas is not in a state document but in his work on *Dharmaśāstra*. And famous saint and poet Jñāneśvara also describes Rāmacandra Rao Yādava as Kṣatriya. He was a man of great learning and saint as he was, he had no reason or motive to flatter any person. We, therefore, feel sure that this dictum had not arisen yet, when Jñāneśvara wrote his poem in Śaka 1212 or 1290 A.D. All these considerations, therefore, in our view point to that conclusion that this dictum arose about after 1300 in Mohmedan times, in the east and the south, where Payagunde and Kamalākara lived.⁸¹

In the medieval period, when almost the whole country was occupied by the foreign invaders, some enthusiastic Brāhmaṇa writer out of sheer frustration might have written that there were no kṣatriyas—the protectors of the cows, brāhmaṇas and the country, as it was their duty to protect and rule. It had never been the concern of the Brāhmaṇas, Vaiśyas or Śūdras to fight, to protect and rule. The word Kṣatriya means the defender and ruler. When they did not remain so by virtue, then it was presumed that the race of Kṣatriyas has come to an end. But only the rule and country was lost, not the caste or race vanished.

81. *Op. cit.*, p. 317.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ĀBHĪRA RULERS OF SOUTH WEST

Īśvarasena an Ābhīra chief, known from an inscription in cave X at Nasik dated 250 A.D. was the founder of the kingdom¹ which he formed on the ramparts of the Sātavāhana empire. Śivadatta, the father of Rājan Īśvarasena, bears no title in the epigraph, which indicates that he was not a king. The Ābhīras never let pass any opportunity to protect their motherland by occupying the sovereign reins of it and discharging their responsibility. Their sovereignty was established firmly with the inauguration of Ābhīra-era which scholars have unanimously accredited to Īśvarasena.² Later on, when the Traikūṭakas, Kalacuris (both were Yādavas) and Chālukyas ruled over the Gujarat and Mahārāṣṭra regions it came to be called as Kalacuri-Cedi era.³ According to Kielhorn the commencement of this Ābhīra or Cedi or Kalacuri era took place at 248 A.D. Had the Cedis and Kalacuries not been the Ābhīras or Yādavas, why should they had accepted that year as their own and used all these names for the era? According to C. V. Vaidya, 'this era is said to have been found in use in even Western India via., Gujarat and Konkan and it is therefore probable that the Kalacuris enjoyed an intensive rule in centuries preceding even the Chālukayas of the Deccan. In fact it may be asserted that they succeeded to a great portion of the Āndhra empire of the Sātavāhanas. They were certainly in possession of the almost impregnable stronghold of Kalanjara for a long time and had extended their sway up to Jamuna whence the name of Cedi was given to them' (p.134).

But the Kalacuris rose to power in the medieval period of the Hindu India at about the middle of the ninth century, they could not have accepted the Ābhīra era started in A.D. 248 unless they themselves were Ābhīras. How they obtained the name Kalacuri should cause no worry as the manes of the families and clans arise in a thousand unknown ways, it is futile to inquire what Kalacuri means as to inquire what Haihaya means or Chālukya or Chāhamāna or Pratihāra and a score of other names mean (though some of them have definite meanings and poets and bards were fond of inventing legends to explain names which are called

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1. *Epig. Ind.*, viii, 88-89; Mirashi, *Corpus Incri. Indicarum*, Vol. iv, pt. I. Ootacamond, 1955, p. XXXIII.
 2. Rapson, *Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, London, 1908, cl, XII, Mirashi, V.V., *op. cit.*, p. XXXIV.
 3. Mirashi, V.V., 'Were the Maharajas of Khandesh the Feudatories of the Guptas', Vol. IV, pt. I, pp. I to XXX, *Epig. Ind.*, XXX, p. 48.

etymological legends and in spite of being referred in the *Ṛgveda* are unfit to be seriously taken into consideration.

The dynasty of Iśvarasena ruled Mahārāṣṭra for many years. There were seven Ābhīra kings according to the *Bhāgavata*,⁴ but nine according to the *Viṣṇu*.⁵ The *Matsya* records that the dynasty lasted for ten generations.⁶ The *Matsya*, being earlier than the *Viṣṇu*, seems to be more reliable. Some scholars interpret that these Ābhīra kings ruled for 67 years.⁷ But V. V. Mirashi holds that the rule of 10 kings for 67 years only, is abnormally low. He cites the evidence of a manuscript of the *Vāyupurāṇa* according to which the Ābhīras ruled for 167 years.⁸ It is worth noticing that the Ābhīra territories of Gujarat, Konkana and Khandeśa, passed over to Traikūṭakas in A.D. 415, exactly 167 years after the establishment of the Ābhīra⁹ State. But it is not proper to say that the Traikūṭakas were not Ābhīras, they might be of a different line, but they undoubtedly, were Ābhīras (Yādavas).

Perhaps the expression *Śapta-Śaṣṭi Śatān=iha*, stating the period of Ābhīra rule, which occurs in a manuscript of the *Vāyu*, is a mistake for *sapta-ṣaṣṭim śatān=ca=éha*. In that case the Ābhīra rule may have lasted for 167 years or till 415 A.D.¹⁰ In support of this view it may be pointed out that the Kadamba king Mayuraśarman who ruled from c. 340 to c. 360 A.D. refers to his fight with the Ābhīras and (their subordinate the Traikūṭakas). V. V. Mirashi further maintains that the Ābhīras had the following feudatories under them.¹¹

1. The Mahārājas of Valkha (Vāghli) in Chalisgaon *tālukā* of east Khandeśa.
2. Iśvarāta ruling in central Gujarat.
3. The kings of Mahiṣmati.
4. The Traikūṭakas.

The above scheme of feudatories rests firstly on the emendation of 67 to 167 years for the duration of Ābhīras' rule and also on the supposition that the inscription of the first three feudatories at least are dated in Ābhīra or Traikūṭaka era. Iśvarāta, who meditated on the feet of a lord paramount appears to have ruled over a fairly extensive territory, for, among the person to whom he addressed his order are 'included such high officers of the state as *Kumārāmatya* and *Uparika*'. He appears to have held Central Gujarat and some portions of the Khandeśa district.

V. V. Mirashi maintains¹² that Śrīdhavarman, the *mahādanāyaka*, the son of 'Śaka Nanda, whose stone inscription recording the excavation of a well, has been found at

4. *Bhāg*, XII, 1, 29.

5. *Viṣ*, IV, 24, 51.

6. *Matsya*, 273, 18.

7. Pargiter, F.E., *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, 1913, pp. 45-46, 72.

8. *Corpus*, iv, xxvi.

9. *Ibid.*, xxv ff.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *CII*, iv, xxxvii ff.

12. *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. ix, pp. 283-84.

Kanakhera near Sanchi in Bhopal, was a subordinate ruler under the Ābhīras. It is maintained that the inscription is dated in the thirteenth year of Śrīdharavarman's reign and also in the year 102, which being referred to the Ābhīra era becomes equivalent to 351- 52 A.D.

The Traikūṭakas are mentioned in the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman along with the Ābhīras. Bhagawanlal Indraji propounded the theory that the Ābhīras and the Traikūṭakas were the same. Hiralal identified the Traikūṭakas with the Kalacuris and expressed the view that Trikūṭa is identical with the Satpura mountain which was so called on account of its three prominent peaks, viz., the Amarakūṭa or Amarakantaka in the former Rewa State, Sālakūṭa in the Balaghat district and Madhukūṭa in the Chhindwara district. The inscriptions and coins of the Traikūṭakas have been found only in south Gujarat, North Konkan and Maharashtra.

Rūdradāman, the Śaka Strapa, was succeeded by his son Dāmaghsada, after whose death his brother Rūdrasimha I and his son Jivadāman ruled alternatively till 199 A.D., while the office of the Mahākṣatrapa remained in abeyance for two occasions, from 179 A.D. to 181 A.D. and again for two years from 188 to 190 A.D. Available evidences seem to indicate that on these two occasions the supreme power in the Kṣatrapa dominion passed from the hands of the members of the dynasty of Caṣṭana to some non-Scythian potentates. Thus the Gundu inscription of 181 A.D. shows the Ābhīra general Rūdrabhūti referring to Rūdrasimha as Kṣatrapa, ignoring the existence of any Mahākṣatrapa altogether.¹³ It is not unlikely that Rūdrabhūti was very powerful general, who usurped the mahākṣatrapa power and Jivadāman who held the office of Mahākṣatrapa in A.D. 178-9, after the death of his father Dāmaghsada, went into exile. Ere long, Rūdrasimha I became stronger and assumed an independent status and ruled as mahākṣatrapa for nearly seven years from 181 to 188 A.D. But he was again degraded and ruled as Kṣatrapa only for the year 188 to 190 A.D., and again during this period there was no Mahākṣatrapa in the Śaka dominion. Bhandarkar, Altekar and some other scholars think that an Ābhīra named Iśvaradatta was the Mahākṣatrapa during these two years. Rapson, however, has no doubt that Iśvaradatta reigned between 236 and 239 A.D. It is quite probable that between 188 and 190 A.D., the Sātavāhanas held sway over the Śaka dominion of Western India. If we turn to a study of the coins of the Sātavāhana king Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi, we find that they are found in Gujarat, Kathiawad, Aparanta, the Chanda district of Madhya Pradesh and the Krishna district of the Andhra Pradesh. Thus there can be no doubt that he ruled over both the Āndhra and the Mahārāṣṭra countries and snatched away a part of the dominions over which ruled the descendants of Caṣṭana. Smith points out in his *Catalogue* that the silver coins of Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi imitate the coinage of the Śaka rulers of Ujjayini—a fact which possibly proves his victory over the latter. After this victory, the mahākṣatrapa of the Śaka realm was evidently reduced to a subordinate position and Rudrasimha I became a subordinate Kṣatrapa under the Sātavāhana emperor. It was after the death of the Sātavāhana emperor that the Śakas recovered their independence and the office

13. Rapson, E.J., *Catalogue*.

of the Mahākṣatrapa revived again. This gives us a fixed point in the Sātavāhana chronology, the year 190 A.D. = the last year of Yājñaśrī Śātakarṇi's reign.

About 200 A.D., Rūdrasena I, the son of Rudrasimha I, became the Mahākṣatrapa. To his reign belong the Mulwasar tank inscription of 200 A.D., and the Jasdhan pillar inscription of 205 A.D.¹⁴ In the Jasdhan inscription of the title of *Bhadramukha* is applied to all ancestors of Rūdrasena except Jayadāman, the father of Rūdradāman and the names of the ancestors who are not in direct descent have not been included.

Spooner discovered at Basarh a clay-seal with the inscription, "(the seal) of the great queen Prabhudāmā, sister of the king the Mahākṣatrapa Svāmī Rūdrasena, and the daughter of the king the Mahākṣatrapa Svāmī Rūdrasimha".¹⁵ The seal does not appear to have been carried at Basarh from outside and so the great queen Prabhudāmā must have lived at the region where it was found. The region at this period evidently formed a part of the Murunḍa dominion and Prabhudāmā probably was a Murunḍa queen. She was evidently given in marriage to a Murunḍa chief, and by this matrimonial alliance the Śakas of the Western India probably hoped to strengthen their hands. From the evidence of the coins we learn that Rūdrasena I (200-22 A.D.) was succeeded in the office of Mahākṣatrapa by his brothers Samghadāman (222-3 A.D.) and Dāmasena (223-36 A.D.) respectively. The next Mahākṣatrapa, Dāmasena's second son Yaśodāman, came to power in 238 A.D., and thus there was a two years' gap in the line of the Śaka Mahākṣatrapas. Rapson considers that the Ābhīra Iśvaradatta ruled over the Śaka realm during this interval.

Coins of the Mahākṣatrapa Iśvaradatta, the Ābhīra, have been found in Kathiawad, dated in the first and the second years of his own reign, and Bhagawanlal Indraji thought that he was probably connected with the Ābhīra dynasty of Iśvarasena of the Nasik inscription, and founded the Traikūṭaka era of 248-49 A.D. Rapson, however, is definitely of the opinion that Iśvaradatta reigned between 236 and 239 A.D. He may have been an Ābhīra originally in the service of the Śaka Kṣatrapa and later on appropriated the supreme position for himself. He evidently failed to establish a dynasty of his own and in 238 A.D. Dāmasena's second son Yaśodāman again became Mahākṣatrapa. He was succeeded by his brothers Vijayasena (239-50 A.D.) and Dāmajadaśrī III (251-55 A.D.). Dāmajadaśrī was succeeded by his nephew Rūdrasena II (256 ? -76 A.D.), who was succeeded by his two sons Viśvasimha and Bharṭṛdāman.

Religion

Buddhism flourished in the reign of Iśvarasena, and its catholicity attracted the Śakas, who not only embraced the faith but adopted Indian culture.¹⁶ Viṣṇudattā, the donee of the

14. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI., p. 238, Rapson, *Catalogue*, xii, no. 41.

15. *ARS*, 1913-4, p. 136.

16. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, *Corpus. Ins.*, XXXV, 'Age of the Bagh Cave', *I.H.Q.*, p. 81.

Nasik cave inscription of Īśvarasena, was the mother of Viśvavarmā, and wife of Rebhila and daughter of Agnivarma, the Śaka. Viśvavarma and Rebhila (father and son) both were accountants (*gaṇapaka*) in the government of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena. The wide use of the Ābhīra-era throughout Khandesh, Konkan, Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra indicates that in the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian era, the Ābhīras enjoyed a considerable imperial dignity. A recent discovery of an Ābhīra inscription from Nāgarjunakonda indicates that Rājana Vasuṣeṇa was a paramount sovereign of his times. On the basis of the internal evidences, the inscription may be assigned to the middle of the fourth century A.D. It records the consecration of a wooden image of Aṣṭabhujaśvāmī by Mahāgrāmika, Mahātalavara, Mahādanāyaka Śivasevana of Kauśikgotra, Yonarajas of Sanjayapura, Rudradāmana Śaka of Avanti and Viṣṇu - Rūdra - Śivalananda Śātakamī of Vanavāsī. It is worth noticing that none of the above princes have any title except Śivasena who has been styled as *Mahādanāyaka* and *Mahāgrāmika* which are evidently his official designations while Vasuṣeṇa has been styled as *rājana* which is an indicative of his superiority over the above princes. It shows that Vasuṣeṇa was the overlord of Śivasevana, Yonarajas, Rūdradāman and Viṣṇu Rūdra Śivalananda Śātakamī.

V. V. Mirashi points out the names of some other feudatories of the Ābhīras, who have been placed more or less in the same period, i.e., in the first half of the fourth century. They were Mahārājas Svāmīdāsa, Bhulunda and Rūdradāsa, known from their grants. They are recorded to have ruled in Khandesh in the year 67, 107 and 117 of the *Ābhīra-era* which may be rendered to the year 316, 356 and 366 of the Christian era. But D.C. Sircar is of the view that the dates recorded in the land-grants of these Mahārājas should better be referred to the Gupta-era, and therefore the Mahārājas Svāmīdāsa, Bhulunda and Rūdradāsa¹⁷ were possibly the feudatories of Candragupta II or Kumāragupta I. But Gupta era never spread to Khandesh; evidently the dates mentioned above cannot be taken to have been recorded in the Gupta-era. The only era which was used in the 4th Century A.D., was the Ābhīra-era. Paleographically also, these grants should be assigned to the 4th Century A.D., therefore, the years 67 and 117 of the grants should be referred to the Ābhīra-era. Similarly, the suzerainty of the Guptas as a matter of fact was never recognised officially in Khandesh, thus there is no possibility of the Gupta over-lordship in that region. Therefore the above mentioned Mahārājas were the feudatories of the Ābhīras, and the era used was Ābhīra-era.

The other feudatories of the Ābhīras Īśvārata and *Mahādanāyaka* Śaka Śrīdhavarman are known from their inscriptions discovered at Chhota Udaipur and Kanakhera near Sanchi. Īśvārata was ruling central Gujarat and the śaka was evidently the chief of the region near about Sanchi. As both the chiefs have used the Ābhīra-era therefore the possibilities of their being the Vassals of the Ābhīras cannot be ruled out. We can also rely upon to some extent on the numerous unwritten legends of strong Ahir-rule spread in Khandesh (earlier it might be Kānhadeśa—the country of Kānhā, Kṛṣṇa) and other regions about the imperial status of

17. Sircar, D.C., *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 222-223.

the Ābhīras. It is however evident from the epigraphs that the Ābhīras ruled over Konkan also.¹⁸

An inscription dated in the 9th regnal year of an Ābhīra king named Māḍhariputra Īśvarasena has been found at Nasika,¹⁹ Māḍhariputra Īśvarasena is described as the son of Śivadatta. It records the gift of Śakanī Viṣṇudattā, daughter of Śaka Agnivarman, wife of the Gaṇapaka Rebhila and mother of Gaṇapaka Viśvavarman, of three investments of 2000, 1000 and 500 Kārṣāpaṇas in the trade guilds of Govardhana for the purpose of providing medicines for the sick Buddhist monks living at the monastery on mount Triraśmi. The epigraph points to the following interesting facts:

1. That Śivadatta is not given any royal honorific showing that Īśvarasena became the first king of his line;
2. That the record follows the Sātavāhana mode of dating;
3. That the Śakas had been living in the Western Mahārāṣṭra region possibly in the service of the Ābhīra lord.

It is certain that the Ābhīra rule in Western Mahārāṣṭra started after the rule of three or more kings in succession to Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi. Thus it is quite possible that Īśvarasena's rule might have begun in 248-9 A.D., and he started an era from that year to commemorate his accession. From the later use of the era, we may infer that the empire of Īśvarasena comprised of the region of Western Mahārāṣṭra, including Nasik and the adjoining areas, Aparānta and Lāṭa.

An inscription has been found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa of the time of Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa of the year 30. It is difficult to determine whether Vasuṣeṇa actually ruled over the Guntur region, but in the present state of our knowledge it may be maintained that the Ābhīra king ruled over the Nasik region and extended his sway over the Krishna-Guntur area about 278 A.D. From the internal evidences of the record, it does not appear that it is a record of pilgrimage.²⁰ The above instance seems to indicate that the Ābhīra kingdom in South India was far more extended than one is apt to think. It is not unlikely that the Muṇḍas and the Cuṭus were originally subordinates to the Ābhīras but later on managed to regain their independence. The Viṣṇu maintains that thirteen Muṇḍa kings ruled after the Āndhras. Large lead coins bearing the legend *Raṇo Muḍanamdasa* have been found from the district of Karwar. Muḍa is evidently identical with Muṇḍas. The coins definitely belong to one of the members of the subordinate dynasty.

The Cuṭus also possibly started as subordinates to the Ābhīras but later on became independent. There are several lead coins bearing the legend *raṇo cuṭu-kulānandasa*. We have at least two inscriptions referring to the Cuṭu kings. Thus a Banavāsi stone inscription mentions Hāritiputra Viṣṇukuḍa Cuṭu-Kulānanda Śātakarṇi who in the twelfth year of reign

18. *The Ābhīras*, Suryavanshi, Bhagwansingh, *op.cit.*, p. 38.

19. *Epi. Ind.*, viii, p. 88.

20. *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 202 ff.

made a gift of a nāga, a tank and a *Vihāra*. The Mallavalli inscription refers to the same king Mānavyasagotra Hārītiputra Viṣṇukaḍḍa Cuṭu-Kulānanda Śātakarṇi, who has been described as the Rājā of the city of Vaijayanti. On the same pillar there is an inscription of an early Kadamba king referring to *Mānavya-sagotra* Hārītiputra Vaijantipati Śivaskanda-Varman.

Some scholars, however, find it difficult to agree with the view that the Ābhīras extended their rule to Anūpa (the country round Mahiṣmati) and Akaravanti or the Mālava region.²¹ On the other hand, E.J. Rapson points out that the Sassanids of Iran extended their sway over India while the Paikuli inscription mention, the Ābhīras, among others, as vassals under Varhran III.²²

21. Chattopadhyaya, Sudhakar, p. 132.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

CHAPTER THREE

YĀDAVA-AHĪR RULERS OF SAURĀṢṬRA

The Yādava-Ahīras reestablished their military and political authority in Saurāṣṭra and Mahārāṣṭra after the decline and fall of the Āndhra-Sātavāhana (Yādava) empire. In this venture they clashed with the Chālukyas and the Solankis. Mahārāja Candracūḍa established Yādava authority in Jūnāgaḍha in c. 857 A.D., and with him began the Cūḍasama dynasty. His period is supposed to be from c. 857 to 907 A.D. After him, Viśvavarāha, his son, ruled from 907 to 940 A.D. But this dynasty came into prominence in the time of king Gṛharipu, son and successor of Viśvavaraha, who ruled from c.940 to 982 A.D. According to the *Dvāśrayakāvya* of Hemacandra, Gṛharipu was a powerful king of Saurāṣṭra. But this author, on the one hand, describes him as a brave, powerful and fearless ruler; on the other hand he defamed him as a wicked, haughty, libidinous and drunkard.¹ His queen, according to this *kāvya* (poetry), was an able, worthy and a scholar. The husband of such a wife cannot be such a cruel person who looted the passengers or a killer of cows and Brāhmaṇas.

Gṛharipu, according to above book, was '*Sindhupati*'—master of the Sindhu country. The whole of Saurāṣṭra was under his sway, where he was ruling like Viṣṇu.² His capital was Mahiṣmati, and the name of his residence was Vāmanasthali—15 kilometres from Junagaḍha, the modern Vanathali. At that time, Chālukya Mularaj was the ruler of Anhilvad. He was always afraid of Gṛharipu and used to plan to destroy his might. He formed a league of friendly rulers and attacked Gṛharipu, but without success.

Though whole of Saurāṣṭra was under the reign of Gṛharipu, yet the fort of Āthakota was under the subjugation of Lākhā Phūlāṇī, the ruler of Kaccha. In order to capture the fort, Gṛharipu attacked Lākhā and a war began. Dasaundhi, the bard, went to the camps of both the fighting forces and told them that while both camps belonged to one Yādava race and thus were brothers, their common enemy was Mularaj Solanki. "Why you do not use your combined might against the Solanki? It shall be in the interest of Saurāṣṭra and the Yādavas." Incidentally, Mularaj attacked Kaccha at that time. Both Gṛharipu and Lākhā, understood the importance of the unity of the Yādavas. They buried the hatches and joined together to fight the common foe, and defeated him. But Mularaj did not sit quite for long. He formed a league

1. Hemacandra, *Dvāśrayakāvya*, Edt. by Kathavate, Bombay, 1915, pp.1-2.

2. *Ibid.*, V. 65, p. 174.

of other rulers and collected a big army, marched disguised as a pilgrimage party, and encamped on the banks of river Jambumālī. Gṛharipu sent a messenger and, through him, asked Mularaj the purpose of his coming with the army. Mularaj replied that he was not the friend of Gṛharipu who was cruel to brāhmaṇas and looted the pilgrims.³ Gṛharipu was also prepared for war. His army consisted of Yādavas, Ābhīras, Raibaris, Bharwāds, Mewasis, Bhils, etc., and Lākhā Phūlānī, the ruler of Kaccha and his soldiers. Both the armies encamped on either side of the river Jambumālī. This was the boundary of Sorāṭha. The Yādava-Ahīras worshipped Durgā and the devi of death, and marched to battle field with a wish for victory. The Ahirs were being assisted by about one hundred thousand tukhars. Solanki was being helped among others, by the king of Kasi and the Prince of Arbud. On being wounded, Gṛharipu was taken prisoner, but to save him from condemnable life, Lākhā killed Gṛharipu with his spear.⁴ Jādejā Lākhā also became a martyr in the battle field. The Cūḍasamā lost and Mularaj emerged victorious in this struggle. Hemacandra defamed Gṛharipu due to jealousy. The purpose of Mularaj's attack was the expansion of his boundary and nothing else. Yādava Gṛharipu was neither a beef-eater nor a tyrant who harassed pilgrims. This was only a secret conspiracy of those brāhmaṇas who had been bribed by Mularaj to spread cannard against him. The Chālukyas became the rulers of this Ahīr-land, and the area of Somanath-Patan was included in the Chālukya kingdom. Though the Yādava-Ahīrs lost the battle, yet their power was not completely destroyed.

Some historians are of the opinion that Gṛharipu was only arrested and Lākhā Phūlānī was killed with deceit in the battle. Gṛharipu was set free on the request of the queen and the bard, but that brave king could not tolerate the ignominy of defeat. Giving the reins of the state to Kwāta, his son, the king left this world with a broken heart in 982 A.D. Kwāta ruled the remnant part of the state. His successor was Diyāsa Mahipal, who made the Jūnāgaḍha fort his capital leaving Vanathali. Diyāsa was got killed by some Raja Durlabhasena⁵ by conceit. His son Navaghaṇa was a child. Knowing the end, the queen handed over the child to a maid servant for protection and became sati with Diyāsa. The maid servant ran away with child Navaghaṇa and approached a Yādava brave man Devāyata of Bididara village near Koḍināra. The maid servant narrated the whole story to the farmer, handed the child over to him and breathed her last. Devāyata Yādava apprised his wife of the situation and handed over the nine-month-old child to his wife. Devāyata had a son of half and one year and a daughter, Jaisala, six months old. The child, Navaghaṇa, began to grow feeding on the milk of Ahir mother in the company of her children.

After some years, through some body's backbite, the officer came to know that Navaghaṇa, son of Rao Diyāsa was alive and was being brought up by Devāyata Ahir. The governor himself visited the house of Devāyata and enquired about Navaghaṇa. The valorous Ahir clad his son in a royal fashion and clad Navaghaṇa in rags, and presented his

3. *Ibid.*, I. 2, V. p. 76.

4. *Ibid.*, I. 5, pp. 102 - 03.

5. Diwan, Ranachodaji Amarji, in his book '*Tarikhe Sorath Va Halar*, gives his name Sidharaya, see, *Junagadh*, ed. by Sambhu Prasad Desai, Junagadh, 1978, pp. 46-47.

own son as Navaghana. The ruler order Devāyata to behead the so-called Navaghana in the presence of his wife. In order to save the national asset and to prove his salt, he sacrificed his own son with his own hands. History has no parallel example to this. The sacrifice made by the Yādava couple for the sake of caste and country is exemplary. The officer was satisfied and he went away.

Now Devāyata Bodhar began to look after Navaghana with more caution and zeal. He wanted to make him more brave and physically strong in every way. He fixed a very rigid daily routine for Navaghana. He nourished him well and waited for the day when Navaghana himself would avenge this tyranny. Navaghana also made his best to please his protector. One day, in the absence of his father, he out of curiosity, tried to plough the field. A pot full of gold coins came out with the point of the plough. Devāyata took it as a good omen of the rise of Navaghana. Bodhar Devāyata was not sitting quite. He was contacting every noble of his caste and inciting them to recover the lost kingdom of the Yādavas. He was inspiring them for preparations and waiting for the appropriate time to strike. The occasion of Jaisala's marriage ceremony proved to be an appropriate opportunity. The Yādavas armed fully, began to reach Jūnāgaḍh. There was a huge drum in the house of Devāyata. Navaghana enquired about the tymbal its use. On this Devāyata said that it was an instrument to change the government. When some brave man strikes it, it sounds and the government is changed. Hearing this Navaghana struck the huge drum with full might. Taking it an indication, the brave Yādavas fell upon the Solanki army. The others also joined them and the rule of Solankis was finished in no time. Jūnāgaḍh once again became the state of the Yādavas, Navaghana was anointed as the ruler of Jūnāgaḍh at the age of just 15, in 1025 A.D., and Devāyata became his regent. Two Nāgar brāhmaṇas, Śridhara and Mahidāsa, were appointed his ministers for efficient administration. Arrangements were made to educate the prince, Navaghana in arms, administration and politics. Merutunga had described him as Ābhīra Rāṇaka. According to the *Dohada inscription* of Siddharaja, he had put into prison the Saurāṣṭra, Mālava and Sindhu rulers.⁶ According to the same inscription, king Navaghana, alias Khangāra, has been described as the ruler of Saurāṣṭra.

War with Siddharaja Jai Singh : Reasons

According to the bardic tales, Navaghana wanted to marry a beautiful damsel Rāṇakadevi. She is said to be a daughter of a potter or gypsy of Mejawari village,⁷ situated 15 kilometres north of Jūnāgaḍh. In this Siddharaja was his rival, but Navaghana succeeded in his efforts and consequently the enraged Siddharāja declared war upon him.⁸ According to *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*, Siddharaja Jaisimha himself came to battle field to defeat Navaghana.⁹ Jain-

6. IA, II, pp. 158-60.

7. According to '*Tarikhe Soratha*', she was the daughter of Mularaja Siddharaja, p. 56. This seems more appropriate.

8. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I.1., pp. 176-77.

9. *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*, ed. by Muni Jinavijaya, Sindhi Jaina Jyanapitha, Bengal, 1953, part I., p. 95.

aprabha Sūra writes in *Tirthakalpa* that Siddharāja killed Khangāra, and appointed Sajjana the governor of Saurāṣṭra, which is also supported by Merutunga. The *Gimar rock-edict* of VS 1176 (1120 A.D.)¹⁰ also testifies that the Ābhīra country was annexed by Jaisimha in his state. According to Prabhacandra, Siddharāja sent Kīrtipāla, brother of Kumarapāla to fight against Navaghaṇa, but Kīrtipāla lost the battle. Later on, Udaiyana, the minister, came to assist Kīrtipāla, whence the former was killed, but latter emerged victorious. Later on, Prabhacandra mentions that Siddharāja killed Navaghaṇa. But the brave Yādavas neither allowed Siddharāja to rule over Saurāṣṭra, nor let him sit down peacefully. They waged an incessant war.

Merutungācārya gives a vivid description of it. According to him, Navaghaṇa defeated the forces of Siddharāja eleven times.¹¹ Twelfth time Siddharāja played a trick and conceit. Khangāra had fortified many cities. Merutunga informs us that Siddharāja bribed many relatives¹² of Khangāra who deserted the latter at the time of twelfth attack in the battle of Devalawārā in which Siddharāja emerged victorious. The bravery of Khangāra and the tyranny of Siddharāja cannot be denied. Sajjana was appointed Governor of Saurashtra after the death of Navaghaṇa.¹³

Having consolidated his power in North Gujarat, Jayasimha appears to have frightened Naravarman into quiescence. Then he turned to Saurāṣṭra. Earlier, the Chālukyas were the viceroys of Saurāṣṭra under the Pratihāra emperors. But the same cataclysm which drove Mularaja to seek a new kingdom in the Sarasvati valley, saw the eclipse of the Chālukyan power in Saurashtra and the resurgence of the Ābhīra kings. Mūlaraja, however, is said to have reduced Grahripa's line in Saurashtra to vassalage. Under Bhīma, its Ābhīra king fought the retreating army of Sultan Mahmud. But in Kaṇva's time the suzerainty of Patan was nominal. During the early years of Jayasimha's reign, Rā Navaghaṇa, the Ābhīra ruler, raised the standard of revolt. Rā Navaghaṇa was succeeded by his grandson Rā Khengāra. Jayasimha marched against him, defeated him in battle, and is said to have imprisoned him. This happened in 1114 A.C. (V.S. 1170), because Jayasimha founded the Simha Era in that year to commemorate the conquest of Saurāṣṭra.

The popular legend about the conquest of Saurāṣṭra, though well-known, is not founded in fact. Rā Navaghaṇa, the father of Khengāra, runs the legend, was cornered by Jayasimha in Pancāla, near Nalakanthā, and was not allowed to go free till he rendered homage. The Rā, thereupon, took a vow that he would avenge the insult by destroying the gates of Pāṭaṇa. Not being able to carry out the vow in his life-time, at his death bed he sent for his four sons and offered his throne to the son who would undertake to fulfil his vow. Khengara, the youngest, accepted the condition and came to the throne. When Siddharāja had been away invading Mālava, Khengāra pursuant to the pledge raided Pāṭaṇa and ran away with a beautiful damsel

10. Majumdar, R.C., *The Chalukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 69, 442; Indrajī, *Bombay Gaz.*, I, pp. 176-77.

11. *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*, ed. by D.K. Shastri, Bombay, 1932, p. 104.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 64; Jina Vijaya, *op.cit.*, Part I.

13. *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*, ed. by Durgasankara, *op.cit.*, p. 105.

named Rāṇakadevi to whom Jayasimha was betrothed. Enraged, Jayasimha invaded Jūnāgaḍh. The nephews of Khengāra turned traitors. The Rā was killed, and so were his two sons, Rāṇakadevi spurned the overtures of Jayasimha and became a *sati* at Wadhwan. However, K.M. Munshi regards the legend unfounded.¹⁴

The Gujarati historians, however, are not in agreement with this description. According to them, it was Rā Navaghaṇa I (1025-1044 A.D.) who challenged the authority of the Solankis and established the Yādava rule in Gujarat. Folk tales are famous about him and he is even today, the hero of folk songs. His son and successor, Khangāra I, was a ruler from 1044 to 1067 A.D., who was succeeded by his son Navaghaṇa II, who ruled from 1067 to 1098 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Khangāra II (1098-1114) as the ruler of Saurāṣṭra. Then the Solankis ruled in Saurāṣṭra up to 1125 A.D. It was Navaghaṇa III who reoccupied Saurāṣṭra in 1125 and ruled till 1140. It seems that the historians confused the similar names of the rulers as one ruler.¹⁵ The regnal period of Navaghaṇa is 1025-1044 A.D. Consequently his conflict with Siddharāja Jaisimha is not a possibility. Jaisimha was the son of Karmadeva and grandson of Mularaja I, and he ruled, according to H.C. Ray, from 1094 to 1144 A.D., which shows a difference of 100 years in the reign of Navaghaṇa I and Siddharāja Jaisimha.

Mahmud Ghazani's Invasion on Somanātha

In 1024 A.D. Mahmud resumed his expedition against Hindustan. The object this time was the famous temple of Somanatha on the sea-shore, in Kāṭhiawāra, containing a *Śiva linga*. The temple stood on huge blocks on stone, and its roof was supported by 56 wooden pillars "curiously carved and set with precious stones". The pyramidal roof was made of 13 stories, and was surmounted by fourteen golden domes. The girth of the *linga* was 4 feet 6 inches, and its height above the base was 7 feet 6 inches. A portion of the *linga*, 6 feet in height, was hidden beneath the base. Adjacent to it under its pedestal there was the treasury containing many gold and silver miniature idols. The canopy over it was set with jewels and was decorated with rich embroidery. The dark chamber in which the *linga* was installed with illumined jewelled chandeliers. In front of the chambers there was a chain of gold, 200 maunds (about 75 quintles) in weight, attached to a bell, which was rung by shaking the chain from time to time for specific purposes. One thousand brāhmaṇas were appointed to perform the worship of the *linga* and for conducting the devotees into the temple. There were three hundred barbers for shaving the heads and beards of the pilgrims. Three hundred and fifty persons both male and female, were employed to sing and dance before the *linga* everyday. All these people received daily allowances from the temple funds. The income of the temple was derived from the 10,000 villages endowed to it, and the offerings from the devotees. The

14. Munshi, K.M., p. 169.

15. See, for details, Sambhubhai Desai, *Saurashtra No Itihasa* (Gujarati), *op.cit.*

temple possessed vast wealth in gold, silver, pearls, and rich jewels which had been accumulated in course of centuries.¹⁶

The temple of Somanātha was built by the Candra *vamsis* in the memory of their progenitor Soma or Candra. These *candravamsis* ruled the whole India and held sway over it through many centuries. No wonder they constructed the temple on the sea-shore to immortalise the name and fame of Candra or Soma. This deity, Soma, was considered the chief of all deities of India. Arrangement had been made to supply the *Gangā-Jala* (water of the river Ganga) daily for consecration of the deity. Many superstitious rulers used to offer their virgin daughters to lord Somanātha. Later on, a *linga* was established in the temple when the Śaivism was on increase. The temple became a great and important pilgrimage centre of the Hindus of all faith and creed. The area was called the Yādava-sthali (the abode of the Yādavas).

The Hindus entertained a belief that Mahmud could not demolish the idol of Somanātha. He could demolish so many idols in North India simply because these deities had forfeited the sympathy and support of Lord Somanātha. It is stated that when Mahmud heard of this belief of the Hindus he decided to destroy Somanātha with a view to striking at the root of their faith in the divinity of their chief idol. He marched from Ghazani to Multan at the head of 30,000 cavalry and multitude of volunteers. In course of his wearisome journey the Sultan first reached Ludrava, modern Loharva 15 km. north west of Jaisalmer, which was defended by a strong citadel and a body of brave Yādava soldiers. Mahmud captured it and marched forward. The Chālukya Bhima I, ruler of Gujarat fled away to Kutch leaving the country undefended and at the mercy of the invader. The Sultan occupied Anahillapāṭana, the capital, and collected fresh provisions. From this place he marched to Mundher and thence to Dewalawārā, modern Dehda, 60 km. east of Somanātha. In the course of his advance through the desert, the brave Yādava-Ahīrs obstructed his way and the former had to fight his way through. Dewalawārā was captured, temples demolished and people of the place put to sword.

Mahmud reached Somanātha in the middle of January, 1025, and found there a strongly defended fortress on the sea-shore. Though the rulers had fled, yet the morale of the Hindus, who had come to defend it, was high. They were passing their time in merry-making fondly believing that Somanātha had drawn the Muslims there only to annihilate them for the sins they had committed in demolishing idols elsewhere. Such was the foolishness and superstition on the part of the Hindus, on which flourished the parasitical brāhmaṇa priests. They even forbade the Yādavas and other Hindus to fight, and told them that Lord Somanātha would himself annihilate all the *mlecchas* in a wink of an eye. But the result was devastating. More than 50,000 Hindus sacrificed their lives to defend the honour of the deity. The few survivors who attempted to escape by sea, were pursued by the Muslims and put to sword. The Sultan made a triumphal entry into the temple. He was taken aback to see the grandeur of the temple and the idols. The priests humbly requested in vain to spare the idols. Mahmud

16. *The Struggle for Empire, op.cit.*, p. 19.

said: "I am an idol-breaker (*butaśikan*), and not an idol-worshipper (*buta parast*)", saying this he broke down the Śiva-*linga* into pieces, and took possession of the vast wealth it contained, said to have been worth 20,000,000 *dirhams*. The temple was then razed to the ground. The fragments of the Śiva-*linga* were carried to Ghazani, where they were made to serve as steps at the gates of the Jāmi Mosque—an act of profanity imitated by latter Muslim rulers.¹⁷

With this vast fortune of loot, Mahmud returned to Ghazani. He was misled by a Yādava-Ahīr shepherd on his way to home. The iconoclastic zeal which he showed at Somanātha deeply wounded the religious susceptibility of the people in general, and of the Ahīrs in particular. Bhima I Chālukya once again fled when he heard the news of the Sultan's advance. The Sultan took over the fort and continued his march through Kutch. An Ahir shepherd led the Muslim army to a dreary part of the desert where there was no water available for miles around. The treachery was immediately detected, and the guide was put to death, but he avenged his death.

After Mahmud's return, the whole of Gujarat presented a deserted look. Those who survived the onslaught, were crying for help and protection. In such a crisis brave Navaghana came forward. He got those readmitted in Hindu religion who were forced to embrace Islam, and the young women were got married to young Hindus who had been raped by the invaders. A new caste of Shekhawats emerged and a new society came into being under the guidance of Navaghana, the Ahir king, who also got the Somanātha temple restructured.

There are many legends famous about Navaghana, the famous of which is the incident in which Navaghana saved the prestige of Jaisala, the Ahir damsel whose mother reared Navaghana in the childhood. Navaghana humbled and killed Hamira Sumarā, another Yādava ruler, of Sindh, who wanted to make Jaisala his queen forcibly. Navaghana got one famous well on the top of a hill in Jūnāgaḍh, which is 171 feet deep and so beautifully designed that there is no darkness at the bottom of the well. The Ahirs, Raibaris, Jāḍejas, Bharwārs, etc., worship the well and treat its water holi like the water of Ganga even today.

According to Gujarati historians, following Ahir rulers ruled chronologically in Saurāṣṭra:

8. Khangar I, son of Navaghana I 1044-1067 A.D.

9. Navaghana II, 1067-1098.

10. Khangāra II, 1098-1114.

11. Navaghana III 1125-1140.

12. Kwāta II, 1140-1152.

13. Jaiśimha I, 1152-1180.

14. Rāyasimha 1180-1184.

15. Mahipāla II, 1184-1201.

16. Jayamala 1201-1230.

17. Mahipāla III (1230-1253): Bholā Bhima was a weak ruler of Gujarat at that time, but Mahipāla was weaker than him. He made no effort to expand his territories, even Vanathali, situated just 15 miles from his capital, was not even in his dominion. He was very lazy. The Kāṭhī dacoits killed him treacherously.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

18. Khangāra III (1257-1260) punished the Kāṭhi dacoits, captured them and forced them to live peacefully.

19. Māṇḍalika I (1260-1306) became a ruler when he was a minor. No important event took place during his reign. He was succeeded by his son.

20. Navaghaṇa IV, who died in 1308 fighting the Muslims.

21. Mahipāla IV (1308-1325) was a brave, serious and religious man. It was a period of depression for Hindus. Two bigots, Alamkhan and Jafarkhan, were ruling Gujarat Paṭan, who were destroying the Hindu religion and temples, converting Hindus to Islam and depressing them. No Hindu could walk with straight backbone. To assure safety and raise the morale of the Hindus, Mahipāla got the Somanātha temple renovated. *The Rao Māṇḍalika Kāvya* informs us that this act of renovation was completed by him between 1308-1320 A.D. His son, Khangāra IV, also took keen interest in this work.¹⁸ It is believed that the temple of Somanātha was got constructed by Yādava king Somana or Soma in second century A.D., who was the ruler of Saurāṣṭra.¹⁹

22. Khangār IV succeeded his father Mahipāla IV at his death in 1325 A.D. He increased his power and treasury. He united all prominent Kṣatriyas in his favour and formed a strong alliance with them. The Chavadas, Meharas, Jhalas, Gohilas, etc., became his supporters. The invasion of Mohamad Tughlak is an important event of his times. He valiantly defended his subjects and the territory, and defeated the forces of the Tughlaks. His son Jaisimha played an important role in this battle. The warring rulers made a peace treaty.

23. In 1352 A.D. Jaisimha II succeeded his father. He expanded his power and territory by defeating small principalities. In Delhi, Feroze Shah Tughlak came to power. He invaded Jūnāgaḍh in 1359 A.D. with a huge army in order to revenge the previous defeat. The Gujarat Governor Jafarkhan was commanding the Tughlak forces, who was forced to take shelter in the hills of Giranāra. Ultimately both sides made a peace treaty. One day Jafarkhan invited Jaisimha to express his gratitude. The Rao went to attend the party without many body-guards. Jafarkhan signalled his men to attack the Rao. Visualising the situation, the Rao killed 12 body-guards²⁰ of the Khan but he himself was killed in the scuffle. Jūnāgaḍh was occupied by the Muslims.

24. Jaisimha's son, Mahipāla V, accepted the suzerainty of the Khan and became a subordinate ruler in 1369 A.D. He was successful to snatch his ancestral territory of Vanathali from Amar Singh and Jait Singh. He died in 1373 A.D., and was succeeded by his younger brother Rao Mokala Singh. The Muslim rulers experienced a pressure from the South, consequently, their attention was diverted to that region. It gave an opportunity to Mokala Singh to increase his power and wealth, but he died in 1397 A.D. His son Māṇḍalik ruled just for three years in old age and died issueless. He was succeeded by his younger brother Melaka or Melāṅga Deva (1400-1415 A.D.). He was courageous and brave ruler. He

18. *Saurashtra No Itihasa*, p. 320.

19. *Prabhasa Ane Patana*, p. 88.

20. Diwan Ranachoda Ji writes in the *Tarikhe Soratha* that where these 12 body-guards were buried, is called the place of *Baraha Śahida* (twelve martyrs).

spread his sway with the help of his minister Hari Singh. At that time, Ahmad Shah was the ruler of Ahmedabad. He cast an evil eye on the flourishing state of Saurāṣṭra. He was also a religious bigot. These were enough reasons for him to attack Vanathali in 1413 A.D. The fuel was added to fire as Melanga Deva gave shelter to Zhala Kṛṣṇa deva who was defeated in the battle of Kankavati at the hands of Ahmad Shah. The Yādava and Muslim forces measured their swords in Vanathali in which the latter were utterly routed and their property looted by the Yādava forces. Seven epigraphic inscriptions have been found in Vanathali which tell us that Raja Melingadeva came victorious on Jeṣṭha Sudi Saptami of VS 1469, and Chunna s/o Vanu, Jhara s/o Champa, Dagma s/o Velayulu, Noghaṇa s/o Lumma, Bhīra Yādava s/o Medha, etc., became martyrs fighting valiantly in the battle field.

To avenge this defeat, Ahmad Shah invaded Vanathali again in 1414 A.D. Rao retreated and took shelter in the Junagadh fort and had to incur heavy damages. His advisors advised to conclude peace with the king, and he accepted to pay tax. Jaisimha III became a subordinate chief in 1415. His son, Mahipāla VI, became the ruler of Junagadh in 1440 A.D. Ahmad Shah died in the old age in 1442, and Mohmud Begda became the governor of Gujarat in 1457 A.D. In between, there was chaos and anarchy in Gujarat and the Yādava ruler, Mahipāla tried his best to maintain law and order in his state. He was a man of religious bent of mind giving the reigns of state, he went on a pilgrimage in old age in 1451 A.D.

Rao Māṇḍalika (1451-1472) : There was a chaos in the Muslim kingdom of Gujarat. The Rao made the best of this opportunity. He expanded his territories and influence, established law and order and increased the number of supporters. He married Umādevi, the daughter of Jhālā Rājā Bhīma of Pāṭāḍi, with a view of obtaining a successor as his first wife Kuntādevi, daughter of Arjuna Gohila could not provide him a son. "The Rao got the Ambāji and Somanātha temples renovated, started worship and removed the Muslim police posts from these places. The *Jūnāgaḍh stone inscription* of V.S. 1507 informs that Māṇḍalika decreed that there would be no preying on fifth, eighth, eleventh, fourteenth and second of every month and these orders were to be obeyed very strictly."²¹

Gujarat was a province of Delhi Sultanate in the times of Allauddin Khilji, who won it in 1297 A.D. But the Delhi Sultanate scrambled after the invasion of Taimur and the far off Southern and Eastern provinces began to become independent of Delhi rule. The successors of Feroz Tughlak were unworthy. The invasion of Taimur finished them. The Delhi Sultanate squeezed to Delhi. There had been no sultan for three months. In 1401, Nasuratshah reoccupied Delhi, but he could not unite it. At the very time Subedar Khan of Gujarat declared himself as an independent ruler. In 1411, his grandson Ahmad succeeded him, who ruled for 31 years and founded the beautiful city of Ahmad Nagar. After him, Muhamad Shah, his son became the ruler in 1442 A.D. and ruled Gujarat for 9 years. There was a valiant ruler Abdul Fatah Khan, who ruled 53 years (1458-1511 A.D.). Prior to him, Kutbuddin Ahmad and Daud ruled Gujarat from 1451 to 1458 A.D. Abdul Fateh Khan fought many wars and had the title of "Mahamud Begada".

21. *Saurashtra No Itihasa*, p. 359.

Mahmud Begada was a very ambitious ruler. To preach Islam, to break temples, to convert Hindus forcibly to Islam and to occupy Saurāṣṭra, Kutch, Malava and Sindh were his aims. The Hindus were suffering from that very old disease—division and fight amongst themselves. This was the dark age of India. Superstition was the order of the day, illiteracy was quite in vogue and the morale of the rulers and the ruled was at the very lowest ebb. Only Rao Māṇḍalika stood firm raising the banner of the prestige of India. He was the first target of Mahmud Begada. He sent the first *firman* in 1468, to the Rao : “Either accept my suzerainty or be ready to die alongwith your family”. The Rao selected the path of battle. But during the fight he accepted to embrace Islam on the condition of the safety of the subjects and a safe exit for the family. This could be the best possible solution in an emergency. He sent his family out of fort at night and when Begada entered the fort in the morning, he offered him a large quantity of wealth and satisfied him. Begada returned happily. But the Rao was fed up with the intermitent invasions of Begada. Māṇḍalika asked Begada that when he was a subordinate of Begada why did he invade him time and again? What was his fault? Begada haughtily replied : “Your greatest fault is your being a Hindu” By that time, the wicked Dewan Visala Chewaṭ (Vaṇika) had handed over the keys of the fort to Begada. Māṇḍalika could not bear upon this, his courage gave way in. Begada forcibly took him to Ahmedabad where he was forcibly made to read *Kalamā*, and at last he died with a heavy heart. Dewan Ranachoda Ji informs us in his *Tavarikhe Soratha*²² that after the death of Rao, his successors ruled in Jūnāgaḍh up to 1947 and fled to Pakistan in that year. The majority population of Jūnāgaḍh is of the Yādavas still.

The Gujarati charoniclers write about Māṇḍalika that when his Dewan advised him to embrace Islam and save his life and reign, then he had said to reply that he could not reform his life, but could reform his death. Saying so he fought bravely and fell wounded. He was carried by his followers in the hills of Gimar and he was cured by a saint. On regaining health, he became a *Kapalika* and toured Gujarat preaching nationalism and religion and died. According to others, Begaḍā took the wounded Rao and forced him to read *Kalama*, whence he died.²³

Mahmud Begaḍā was a cruel and strong ruler of Gujarat. His diet was snakes, scorpions and other poisonous insects. He could kill a person just by spitting the spittle of betel. For his entertainment, he used to award capital punishment even for small faults. The convict was brought naked before him and he spitted the spittle of betel on the body of the convict, and the later would die in a gruesome manner. Begaḍā used to enjoy it.

This conflict between Māṇḍalika and Begaḍā took place in 1469 or 1470 A.D., after which the rule of the Yādava-Ahirs of Saurashtra ended. There remained no brave person to protect the sacred Somanātha temple, Begaḍā converted it into a mosque. In this way, the

22. But according to other sources, the Mughal Faujdar or Subedar, Sher Khan Babi, who was a Yūsufjāi Pathan, declared his independence in 1735 A.D. in Junagadh. His descendants had been ruling there till 1947. See, *His Imperial Majesty King George V and the Princes of India and the Indian Empire*, Lahore, 1937, Part-I, Section-II, p. 50.

23. Desai, Sambhu Prasad, *Saurashtra No Itihas*, 1968, Junagad, pp. 377-79.

efforts for the protection of this temple for the last 450 years ended for the next five centuries. The Yādavas did not change religion even with the change of the rulers or their religion. In 1947, the Nawab wanted the inclusion of Jūnāgaḍh into Pakistan, but the people resisted it. Jūnāgaḍh became an integral part of the sovereign democratic republic of India in 1947. The Yādavas ruled it from 857 to 1470, though, after embracing Islam, they ruled up to 1947.

Māṇḍalika Kāvya

Rao Māṇḍalika was a lover of art, musician and patron of scholars. There were a number of scholars and poets in his durbar. One poet, Gangadhar, composed *Māṇḍalika Kāvya*, living under his patronage. There are ten *Sargas* in it. The first *Sarga*, containing 66 ślokaś, describes the Jūnā (old) Gadha's situation, geographical setting, ecology, inhabitat, business and commerce, etc. It describes the genealogy of the Yādava rulers and their bravery. The language of the *Kāvya* is vague Sanskrit, but it is important from the point of view of facts. Gujarati, a mixture of Sindhi and Marwari was the spoken language of the people. Those who came from outside and settled there also influenced the Gujarati language. Earlier Brahmi script was used, but later on was switched over to Devanagari.

Genealogy of the Yadava Rulers according to the '*Tarikhe Soratha and Halara*'.

Dayāsa

Navaghana	V.S. 872	Jaisimha	V.S. 1390
Khangāra	V.S. 916	Mugat Singh <i>alias</i>	
Mularāja	V.S. 953	Mokal Singh	V.S. 1402
Jabarā	V.S. 987	Madhupata	V.S. 1416
Ganaraja =		Māṇḍalika	V.S. 1421
Kanaraja	V.S. 1009	Melaga	V.S. 1439 ²⁴
Māṇḍalika	V.S. 1047	Jaisinha	V.S. 1450
Hamira	V.S. 1095	Khangāra	V.S. 1468
Vijayapāla	V.S. 1108	Māṇḍalika	V.S. 1489
Navaghana	V.S. 1162		(became Muslim)
Māṇḍalika	V.S. 1184	Bhupat Singh	V.S. 1528
Balanāsanga	V.S. 1195	Khangara Navaghana	V.S. 1560
Dhaneśa	V.S. 1209	Khangār	V.S. 1582
Navaghana	V.S. 1214	Śri Singh Navaghana	V.S. 1608
Khangāra	V.S. 1224	Khangāra Śri Singh	V.S. 1642
Māṇḍalika	V.S. 1269		
Mahipāla	V.S. 1302		
Khangāra	V.S. 1336		

24. According to *Saurashtra No Itihasa*, Melaga did not rule. See, p. 383.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE KALACURI-YĀDAVAS

The earlier form of the dynastic name Kalacuri was Katcuri, though in some cases other variants like Kalaturi, Kalcuti, Kalachuri, Kalacūrya and Kalicuri or Haihaya or Ahihaya are also available. According to the editors of '*The Classic Age*', it was a word of non-Sanskrit origin and has, with some amount of plausibility, been equated with the Turkish word Kuluchur indicating an office of high rank. This may suggest that the Kalacuris were foreigners who probably entered India in the train of Hūṇas and Gurjars.¹ About the latter, the authors wrote: 'But though we can be more or less sure that the Gurjars were originally the name of a people, there is no evidence that they were foreigners, and came to India in historical times in the wake of the Hūṇas, the Kūṣāṇas or other foreign hordes. Their sudden rise into prominence in the 6th century A.D., and the attempt of some of their royal dynasties to fabricate a mythical origin, no doubt, lend colour to this view. But these can not be relied upon as definite evidence, and we may cite analogous instances of the Kalacuris and the Chandellas, on the whole, this question must be left open till more definite evidence is available.'² The authors lacked knowledge and confidence to pronounce any judgement, yet they copied foreign writers to declare Kalacuris foreigners. According to Rajbali Pandey, "The origin of the Kalacuri dynasty and the establishment of Kalacuri rule took place in those regions in the medieval period, wherever inhabited the descendants of the Yādavas, Haihayas, Cedis and Vidarbhas—all branches of Yaduvamsa. Ancient Kalacuri inscriptions accept their origin from Candra and of Atreyavamsa.

According to the *Vārāṇasi copper plate*³ of Kaṇva and the *Bilahari* inscription of Yuvaraja II, Kalacuris are descendants of Budha and progeny of Kārtavīrya Arjuna (Haihaya dynasty).⁴ The Chālukya records also prove Kalacuris to be of Haihaya dynasty.⁵ Later on, the Haihayas and Yādavas merged in one line because originally both were Yāduvamsis. The Cedis also, possibly, merged into the Yadavas, because in future their independent existence is not found. The Cedis' one branch developed in the form of Chandels.⁶ The Kalacuris had

1. *The Classical Age*, p. 194.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

3. *Corpus*, Vol. IV, p. 241, *śloka* 3; p. 378, *śloka* 8.

4. *Inscriptions of Kalacuri-Cedi Era*, Vol. I, p. 209.

5. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 11.

6. They had also been called Cedi, Caidya and Cédikula due to their being rulers of Cedi country.

marital relations with the Chandels. The opinion of Devdatt Ramkrishan Bhandarkar is not acceptable that they were the descendants of foreigners.

In medieval age, Mahiṣmati was the capital of the Kalacuris, which was also a famous capital of the Haihayas in the ancient times. A king, named Subandhu, ruled here in c. 416-17 who was the ancestor of the Kalacuri royal dynasty. It is probable that in the beginning he was a subordinate of the Chālukya royal dynasty of Vātāpi, afterwards they became independent. The *Aihole inscription* of the Chālukya king Pulakesin II describes the attack of the Chālukya Mangasu (Mangalisa) on the Kalacuris.⁷ This attack took place in the time of Budharāja, son of Sankaragaṇa. There is no doubt in the fact that Mahiṣmati was the first capital of the Kalacuris. Rajaśekhara, the court poet of the Kalacuris, describes them as 'Kularādhanī', in his treatise, *Bālarāmāyaṇa*.⁸ The Kalacuris called themselves '*Mahiṣmatipuravareśvara*' with pride. Had they been foreigners why could they be called so by other rulers?

The Kalacuris rose to prominence again in the second half of the sixth century, when they are found in occupation of northern Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarat and parts of Mālawa. They used an era of their own which commenced of A.D. 248-49 which therefore came to be known as the Kalacuri era; but they adopted the era probably after their conquest of the Nasik and Broach regions. This is suggested by the use of the Gupta era in the Barawani grant of A.D. 486 of Mahārāja Subandhu, king of Mahiṣmati, and in the records of other kings of the Anupa region, viz., Svāmīdāsa (A.D. 436), whose family or families appear to have overthrown by the Kalacuris. V.V. Mirashi refers all these dates to the era of A.D. 248-49, that is, the Kalacuri era. But the authors of '*the Classical Age*' do not agree with this view.

About the close of the sixth century, the Chālukya of Badami attacked the kingdom of the Kalacuris from the south, while the Gurjars gained strength in the Broach region. During the troubled period, the Kalacuris appear to have settled in Mālawa; but owing to the pressure of the Maitrakas, they moved towards the east and ultimately settled in the Jabbalpur region where, after a long period of comparative obscurity, they emerged powerful about the end of the ninth century.⁹ But this description may be correct about the ruling family or families, not of the Kalacuris as a caste or people. Central India was the original abode of the Haihayas-Kalacuris and they did not come from outside as explained by the authors of '*the Classical Age*'. It might have quite been possible that some families might have migrated to different regions in search of greener pastures and to try their luck in new places. There is nothing new or strange for Yādavas to migrate, wander, settle and move in search of land, fame, wealth and adventure. In this age of peace and stability, Yādavas are always on the move seeking agricultural land wherever available in any part of the country or anywhere else. This has been a true characteristic of this community. Movement has been in their blood.

7. 'अवाप्तवान यो रणरंग मंदिरे कटत्कुश्री श्री ललना परिगृहमब...' *EL*, Vol., VI, p. 1.

8. *Bālarāmāyaṇa*. 3.15.

9. *The Classical Age*, pp. 194-95.

The Kalacuri Royal Dynasty

The Kalacuris had ruled in Mahārāṣṭra, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh for 1000-1200 years, at one place or the other, and had a very prominent place in political and cultural history of India. The Kalacuri era started by them illustrates their influence. Some historians are of the view that originally this era was started by the Ābhīras in recognition of some great achievement by them in the western India, in 248-49 A.D., but, later on, the Kalacuris adopted it and associating themselves with this became immortal. In fact, the Ābhīras and Kalacuris belonged to the same Yādava *vamsa*, therefore, it the Kalacuris adopted or gave their name to the Ābhīra *samvat*, then there was nothing strange. Due to the hegemony of this caste, this *samvat* came into use in the whole country. Its use was made by Gurjars, and Gujarat. At that it was just called *samvat*, which is testified by many records of these dynasties. But later on, the Kalacuris, with their increasing political influence, took it into the east in the Chattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh and north eastern parts of Gorakhpur and Devaria. Many inscriptions of Kalacuri *samvat* have been found in these regions. Later on, the Kalacuris made use of this *samvat* without option in their records.¹⁰

Kalacuris of Mahiṣmati

To begin with, the Kalacuris established their sway in the ravines of the Narmada river and making Mahiṣmati their capital ruled the regions of Ujjain. Due to this they have been called the rulers of Avanti or *Mahiṣmatipuravareśvaras*. Kṛṣṇarāja is accepted the founder of the this dynasty ruling in the third quarter of the sixth century,¹¹ on the basis that his grandson Budharāja was a contemporaneous of Harṣa (606-647 A.D.), emperor of Kanauj, and Chālukya Mangaleśa and Pulakeśin II of Badami. Kṛṣṇarāja founded a powerful empire on the decline and fall of the Guptas and Vākātakas. He annexed Vidharbh along with Mahārāṣṭra in the south, Gujarat and Rajputana in the north and the area up to Konkan in the west. Though no inscription of his reign has been found till date, yet his silver coins—‘Kṛṣṇarāja Roopak’, have been found in abundance in these areas. Two records each of his son Śankaragana and grand son Budharāja have been found,¹² which clarify that these early Kalacuri rulers made the best use of the political conditions of their times, when there was no imperial power in north or *Dakṣiṇāpatha*. But Buddha became the ruler at a time when the *Uttarāpatha* was being occupied by Harṣavardhan and the Chālukyas were expanding their power in *Dakṣiṇāpatha*. He had to face the attacks of Magaleśa (601 A.D.) and Pulkeśin II, one after the other.¹³ Consequently, Mahārāṣṭra slipped out of his hands. The *Ahihole record*¹⁴ of Pulakesin-II tells us that he made the Lāṭa, Mālava and Gurjar kings his

10. See, Mirashi, V.V., *Corpus*, Vol. IV, Introduction, pp. 1-30.

11. *JNSI*, Vol. III.

12. *Corpus*, Vol. IV, pp. 38-44; 44-47-50 & 50-56, *Bombay gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 295.

13. *Corpus*, Vol. IV, Introduction, pp. 48, 50.

14. *AI*, Vol. VI, p. 8.

subordinates. In such conditions the Kalacuris had to turn their attention towards north India. Though no clear and chronological description of the next 100-150 years of their rule is available, yet it is definite that they remained an influential political power. On the basis of some Chālukya records, V.V. Mirashi infers that the Kalacuris of Mahiṣmati might have accepted the suzerainty of the Chālukyas of Badami.

Kalacuri Dynasty of Sarāyupāra

At the time, when Kokkala I and his descendants were ruling in Tripuri, almost at the same time the Vaka branch of the Kalacuri dynasty came into prominence in Uttar Pradesh, beyond Sarayu river. The first ruler of this dynasty was Rājaputra (perhaps, son of a king), who came into power in the later part of the eighth century. Rājaputra was a victorious king. He arrested Vāhali, the Turagapti, destroyed the power of the Kiritan and other rulers and suppressed the kings of the east. No specific information is available about the rulers of Vāhali and Kiritan, but the ruler of east (*Prāci*) was definitely Dharamapāla, the Pāla-Yādava king. When Dharamapāla invaded eastern Uttar Pradesh then Rājaputra successfully defended it. There is nothing worth mentioning about it. Śivarāja's son was Śankaragaṇa. It seems that he tried to become independent of the main ruling line. That is why Kakkala defeated him. Śankaragaṇa's regnal period was the middle of the ninth century. He was succeeded by his son Guṇambhauhideva *alias* Guṇasāgara. His reigning period was the later part of the ninth century. He defeated the king of Gauḍa. It is taken that he was one of the supporters of Pratihāra king Bhoja, who attacked on the Pālarāja. On this occasion, Bhoja gave some territory to the Kalacuri ruler. On this territory ruled a local dynasty, Malayaketu, beyond the Sarayu. Its capital was in the north Girikaṭaka. Three kings of this dynasty, Mahārājādhirāja I, Mahārājādhirāja Darmāditya and Mahārājādhirāja Jayāditya I, ruled up to the third quarter of the ninth century. It seems that grabbing their territory, Bhoja gave it to Guṇambhauhideva, the Kalacuri king, who had been ruling this region till late.

Ullabha and Bhāmānadeva, two sons of Guṇambhauhideva, respectively, ruled this territory after their father. Bhāmānadeva was militarily a strong ruler. He was friendly to the Rāṣtrakūṭas, but fought against Vairisimha, the Paramara ruler of Dhāra, and became famous due to this fight. He helped Pratihāra Kings against the Paramāras. After him Śankaragaṇa Muḥatunga II, Guṇasāgara II, Śivarāja II, Bhāmān. Śankaragaṇa III and Bhīma ruled, respectively. The Kalacuri dynasty became weak. Bhīma was ruling in the beginning of the eleventh century. It is said that he lost his empire due to ill luck. The reason is not explained. Definitely he was defeated in some battle. After him, Vyāsa, the son of Guṇasāgara II, became the king. His son and successor was Mahārājādhirāja Soḍhādeva, who ruled in the last lap of the eleventh century. He firmly reestablished the Kalacuri power. His kingdom consisted of all areas beyond Sarayu—from Bahraich in the west to Gandak river in the east. The successors of Soḍhādeva ruled in the vicinity of Kusinagar (Kasaya). After him no worth mentioning

information is available about this dynasty. But definitely, the descendants of the Kalacuris remained in the form of petty feudal lords and slowly and slowly merged into the masses of that region.¹⁵

Kalacuri-Yādava Dynasty of Ratanpur

The Kalingarāja, descendant of one of the younger sons of Kokkaladeva I of Kalacuri-Yādava dynasty, conquered south Kosala and established his capital in Tummāṇa (present Tūmanā) of District Bilaspur. This was a feudal state. His son Kamalarāja had helped Gāṅgeyadeva of Tripuri in his Utkala conquest. Kamalarāja's son was the first ruler of this family who founded Ratanpur (the present Ratanpur) which was situated 25 km. from Bilaspur of Madhya Pradesh. Ratnarāja son was Prthvideva, who ruled up to 1079 A.D. Perhaps Ratanpur became the second capital of this family in his time. When the original dynasty of Tripuri began to become weak in the period of Yaśahakarna; Jājñaladeva I, the ruler of Ratanpur became independent in about 1145 A.D. He made friendship with the Gahadawal king Govind Chandra and Chandel ruler Sallakṣaṇavarman. He imprisoned the Nāga ruler, Śomeśvara of Chakrakot, in Bastar, because the latter had attacked south Kosal. Jājñaladeva invaded Orissa, and defeated Bhujabala, the ruler of Suvaṃapur (Sonapur). He extracted tax from the Māṇḍalika rulers of whole of south Kosal, Āṇḍhra, Khimaḍi, Vairāgar, Bhaṇar, Talahār, Daṇḍakpur, Nandavali and Kukkuṭ.

After Jājñaladeva, his son Ratnadeva II succeeded him some time before 1126 A.D. He impulsed the attack of Anantavarman Chola-Ganga of South. His minister, Jagapāla, conquered Talahār land on his behalf. After him, his son Prthideva II became the king. He also foiled the attack of Rājā Jaṭeśvar. Jagapāla was his minister also. He conquered the forts of Sarahāragaḍha, Yavakāsinha and Bhramakhaṇḍa, and established sway on Kāntār, Kusumabhoga, Kāṇḍāsverhvara, etc. Prthideva II's younger son Jājñal II became ruler after 1158 A.D. In his time, a *sāmānt* named Dhīru, created trouble for him. But Jājñala came out successful. After him, his elder brother, Jagadeva, who was the ruler of Prāgdeśa (eastern province), became the ruler. Some time before 1181 A.D., Ratnadeva III became the ruler of this dynasty. After him, the sons, Prthideva III and Pratāpamalla set on the throne, respectively. Pratāpamalla was a child at the time of his becoming ruler. In his time, Viṣṇu, the minister of Ganga Anaga Bhima of Kalinga ruler, attacked on Ratnapur and destroyed the power of the Kalacuris. Pratāpamalla remained in power till 1218 A.D., but nothing can be said definitely about his successors. It seems that the state of Kalacuris merged partly in Kalinga and partly in the Yādava empire of Devagiri.

Kalacuri Coins

At least fifteen kings of Haihaya of Kalacuri dynasty ruled in Tripuri in 900-1200 A.D.,

15. Pandey, Rajabali, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-63.

but only some of them issued coins. The name of Gangyadeva is most famous. This king issued the gold coin in his reign (1015-1040 A.D.), which became very popular. This coin has been found abundantly in the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh. After this many rulers copied the Gāngyadeva coins in pre-medieval period, hence their coins are called of “Gāngyadeva-style”. The coins of Gangyadeva Vikramāditya are of mixed gold, which have their own peculiarity. Though its seal was prepared in a simple manner, but due to copying by many rulers it became famous on the basis of weight and dimension. These coins are of two types: first, of big size, thin, 60 grain weight; obverse-king’s name in Nāgari script in three lines Sri Madngēyā Deva (E. Mue. Cat. List 26); reverse *Caturbhujā* (four handed) image of Devi in the *Padmāsana* posture seems, hands are on both thighs; but other forms are vague. Small in second form; 1/2" thick, weight 60 grain, obverse and reverse are similar, Varn is of the view that after the death of Gāngyadeva, his son Kaṇa issued this type of coin (N.S. No. 17, List 6).

As mentioned above that “Gāngyadeva-style” was copied mainly by the Madhya Pradesh, Madhyadesa and Delhi Rajpur kings, it proves that Kalacuri dynasty was a famous ruling power. The mixed-gold coins of the Chandel, eastern Chedi dynasty, Gahaḍawal, Chahaman the Tomar kings was nothing but imitation of “Gāngyadeva-style”.

Kṛṣṇarājā Roopaka : The silver coins of very ancient Kalacuri dynasty have come into light, which are supposed to be an imitation of Skandagupta of the Gupta dynasty, V.V. Mirashi has read the name of Kṛṣṇarājā, who ruled in 550-575 A.D., on these coins.¹⁶ On these coins, the figure of the king with moustaches is engraved like the Ksatrapa coins or the Gupta silver coins, and seal impression (writing) in the Gupta script.

Obverse king’s head, moustaches are visible. Reverse—Bull in the centre and writing around in circle “Paramamaheśvara mātṛ Pitṛ Pādānudhyāt Śri Kṛṣṇarājā”. These coins have been found in Nasik, Satara and Bombay. In this way, this shows the expansion of the Kalacuri empire. The ‘*Anjaneri Copperplate inscription*’ of this dynasty mentions “The *Kṛṣṇarājā Roopaka*” (the Rupee of Kṛṣṇarājā). The Śiyādoni inscription, found in the vicinity of Gwalior, describes the Rajput coins as “*Drama*”. The coin of Kṛṣṇarājā is also like half-*drama*, but the panegyric of the ‘*Anjaneri inscription*’ describes it as ‘*Roopaka*’ (the silver coin).¹⁷

Coins of the Eastern Cedi dynasty

One branch of the Haihaya-Yādavas, which was called the rulers of eastern Cedi dynasty, ruled in the capital Ḍāhāla. The coins of three rulers, out of nine, are available. Almost all the rulers had used gold, silver and copper for it. According to the premedieval age tradition, the name of the rulers is engraved on the observe of the coins in Nāgari script, and

16. JNSI, part III.

17. Upadhyay, Vasudeva, pp. 205-6.

image of horse rider (on gold and silver) or of Hanuman crushing the demon (on copper coins) is on the reverse of every coin. Weight is 60 grain. The name of the king in the Nāgari script written on the obverse of the coin is Śrī Madpr̥thvideva of Śrimad Jājjaḥ deva or Śrī Ratnadeva.¹⁸ On the reverse side the image of Horse rider or Hanuman is found. It is surprising that these eastern Cedi kings used silver also, the availability of which was on decline.¹⁹

18. *I.M. Cat.*, List 26.

19. Upadhyaya, Vasudeva, p. 206.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE KALACURIS OF TRIPURI (850–1121 A.D.)

Of the many branches of the Kalacuris, the Kalacuris of Tripuri or Dāhala became most powerful and famous, who had been important actors in the politics of north India for about three hundred years. Many scholars accepted Kokkalla or Kokalla (850 - 885 A.D.) as the founder of this dynasty. The Bilahari inscription of Yuvarajadeva and Banaras inscription of Kaṇa give the genealogy of the Kalacuris of Dāhala from Kokkala.¹ Rajbali Pandey also is of this opinion.² But V.V. Mirashi has proved on the basis of inscriptions that many generations before him, this dynasty has begun with Vāmarājadeva. The scions of Vāmarājadeva described him as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parmeśvara* and many other rulers after him as 'Vāmadeva *Pādānuadhyāta*' (worshipper of the feet of Vāmadeva). On the eve of the disintegration of Harṣa's empire in the latter half of the seventh century and anarchic conditions created consequent thereof, Vāmarāja made best use of the situation and, perhaps, won Kalanjar and *subjugated* Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand. He made Tripuri his capital and marching forward he occupied Ayomukha (Pratap garh and Rai Barraley) and sent his younger brother, Lakṣmaṇarāja to conquer Śwetapāda. His regnal period is considered between c.675-700 A.D.

From Śankara Gaṇa I to Lakṣmaṇa Rāja I

Śankaragaṇa became the ruler of Tripuri after some generations of Vāmarāja. Two donation inscriptions³ of him have been found from Sagar and Chhoti Devadi; in which he has been styled as *Parama Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parmeśvara*. The find spots of these inscriptions and above mentioned designations clearly prove that Śankaragaṇa ruled a fairly wide area. But Kalacuri history of about one hundred years after him is unknown. Perhaps they might had to submit before the Rāṣṭrakūṭas pressure and had to content to be under them.

1. See, *Corpus*, Vol. IV, pp. 204-244 and 236-250.

2. *Ibid.*, pp.174ff, 186ff.

3. *Corpus*, Vol. IV, pp. 174 ff, 176 ff.

No record of this period is available. They again seem to come to power with the publication of the Kāritālāi inscription⁴ of Kalacuri *samvata* 593 (841 – 842 A.D.). It was published by Lakṣmaṇa Rāja I in which he eulogised the Rāṣtrakūṭa emperor Govinda III which clearly indicates that Lakṣmaṇa Rāja had accepted his sovereignty. This political alliance became stronger by marital relations between the two royal dynasties. In fact, Kokalladeva was the real founder of the greatness of this dynasty. He married the Chandel princess Naṭṭādevi. With this relation his north boundary became safe. His daughter was married to Kṛṣṇa Akālavarṣa II, the Rāṣtrakūṭa ruler of Mānyakheta.⁵ With this, friendly relations were established with south also. These relations increased his power and influence. Now he began to interfere in the politics of Uttarāpatha and Dakṣiṇāpatha.

He helped Kṛṣṇarāja Akālavarṣa II against Vijayāditya III, the Chālukya ruler of Vengi and Bhojadeva II against Pratihāra Mahipāla I. In this way he established two victory towers in north and south.⁶ According to the Vārāṇasī inscription he gave amnesty to the Chitrakūṭa ruler Śrī Harṣa, Bhoja, Vallabharāja and Śankaragaṇa.⁷ He got his daughter Lajjā, married to the Pāla King Vighrahapāla.⁸ He achieved many conquests. According to the Amoda inscription of Prthvideva I (Kalacuri *samvata* 831) he snatched elephants, horses, jewells and money from the descents of Kaṃṇāṭaka, Banga, Gurjara, Śākambhari (Chāhamāna), Turuṣka and Raghu.⁹ Many of these conquests were military expeditions, but these show his increasing power. Kokkaladeva I made Tripuri his capital. Now a days this place is situated 10 kilometres west of Jabalpur as a small town known as Tewar, but the rampants of the old city are in abundance around it. This was the capital of Tripura Asura, as mentioned in the *Śkandapurāṇa* (Reva *Khaṇḍa*). Śiva had invaded from Avantikā (Ujjayini) on Tripura and killed him. From thence it became the city of Śiva and a famous Śaiva pilgrimage centre. Being situated between Narmada and Bāṇa Ganga, it was also safe from military point of view. The Yādavas, though originally Vaiṣṇavas, became devotees of Śiva. Religious tolerance of later Yādava rulers is clearly visible. They patronised and protected all religions equally.

The *Bilahari inscription* describes that “conquering the whole world he established two victory-pillars in the form of Kṛṣṇarāja in the direction of Kombhodbhava (Agṣtya), that is south, and Śrinidhibhojadeva in the direction of Kubera, that is in north”.¹⁰ The interpretation of this quotation is vague and it may or may not be indicative of historical facts. Some scholars are of the opinion that Bhojadeva mentioned in above mentioned inscription is first or second Bhoja of the Gurjara Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauja. Many scholars¹¹ admit that

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 178 ff.

5. *E I*, Vol. VII, p. 38.

6. *E I*, Vol. III, p. 193.

7. *Corpus*, Vol. IV, p. 241, *sloka* 7.

8. See, the deed of gift of Nārāyaṇa Pāla found at Bhagalpur.

9. *E I*, Vol. XIX, pp. 75-78, *slokas* 4-5.

10. *Corpus*, Vol. IV, p. 210, *sloka* 17.

11. Altekar, *Rāṣtrakūṭas*, p. 101; Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 225-256; Baijnath Puri, *History of Gurjar Pratiharas*, pp. 80-81, *Memoirs, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, p. 65.

Kokalla helped Bhoja II against Mahipāla in their war of succession. But there seems two difficulties in this regard. One, there is no solid proof of a struggle of succession between him and Mahipāla I,¹² and secondly, chronologically the reign of Kokalla seems to have ended much before (before the end of ninth century) the rule of Bhoja II (912-914 A.D.). Therefore it seems more possible that he was a contemporary of Bhoja I. This also seems possible because Bhoja I's contemporaneous Rāṣtrakūṭa ruler Kṛṣṇa II (878-911 A.D.) was the son-in-law of Kokalla, who definitely was younger than the latter. So it may be inferred that the description of help rendered by Kokalla to Bhoja to establish him in the form of his reputation, might be his help against the Pālas.¹³ Kṛṣṇarāja of the *Bilahari inscriptions* is Vallabharāja of Vārāṇasī record, which has been used for the Rāṣtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II. There had been going a long struggle between the Rāṣtrakūṭas and the king of eastern Chalukyas, Vikramāditya III (844-888 A.D.), in which Kokalla had helped his son-in-law, Kṛṣṇa II through his son prince Śankaragaṇa II.¹⁴ The related Rāṣtrakūṭa and Chālukya inscriptions designate Śankaragaṇa as Sankila or Sankuka.

There is no unanimity in identification of Harṣa, the ruler of Chitrakūṭa and Śankaragaṇa. In this context, some scholars identify 'Chitrakūṭa *Bhupāla*' as an adjective of Harṣa and identify him as the Chandel ruler.¹⁵ But it is impossible that Harṣa could occupy Chitrakūṭa (40 kilometres north-east of Kalanjara). According to the *Khajurāho inscription*¹⁶ of Dhanga of 954 A.D. the first Chandel ruler of occupy Kalanjara was Yaśovarmā, the son of Harṣa. Therefore it is possible that this Harṣa, who got amnesty from Kokalla was Harṣa of the *Chāṭasū inscription*¹⁷ of Bālāditya, who was the Guhila chieftain¹⁸ of Pratihāra ruler Bhoja I. His occupation over Chitrakūṭa (Chitor) is generally accepted. Śankaragaṇa was a ruler of a branch of Kalacuris ruling beyond Sarayu in south of Gorakhpur areas, who has been mentioned in the *Kahalā inscription*¹⁹ of Sodhādeva. It is not surprising to help a feudal lord of his own family by Kokalla.

The above mentioned arguments prove that Kokalla occupied an important place in the contemporary politics. The contemporary rulers were anxious for his friendship and helping and protecting them from time to time. Kokalla helped to increase the honour and status of Kalacuri dynasty.

Śankaragaṇa II (c. 890-910 A.D.)

Śankaragaṇa succeeded his father Kokalla after his death. he bore the epithet of Mugdhatunga or Prasiddha Dhavala. He attacked on South Kosala (Chhatisgarh region) king

12. Pathak, Visudhanand, *Uttar Bharat Ka Itihas*, pp. 157-58.

13. See, Kielharn, *EI*, Vol. II, pp.301-304.

14. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, p.73, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 231.

15. Kielharn, *EI*, Vol. II, p. 301, Hema Chandra Ray, *Dynasties*, Vol. II, p. 753.

16. *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 127-128.

17. *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 15.

18. *IHQ*, Vol. XIII, p. 486.

19. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, p.75; Ray, Hem Chandra, *Dynasties*, Vol. II, p. 754.

and conquered Pāli (Bilaspur). Śankaragaṇa's son was Bāla Harṣa. Nothing is worth mentionable about him. Perhaps he had no son. Therefore his younger brother Yuvarājadeva I became his successor.

Yuvarājadeva I (c. 915 – 945 A.D.)

He was a powerful and famous conqueror. According to the *Bilahari inscription* he copiously enjoyed the women of Gauḍa (Bengal), Kaṇāṭa (Kaṇāṭaka), Lāṭa (Gujarat), Kashmir and Auḍra (Orissa).²⁰ From this, it may be inferred that he attacked these states. The *Viddhaśāla Bhanjikā* of Rājāśekhara also mentions about Yuvarājadeva I. The hero of his drama is Yuvarājadeva himself. According to this Deva selected (or married) women of Magadha, Mālava, Pañcāla, Avanti (Mālava), Jālandhar (Panjab) and Kerala. A combination of chivalry and romance is found in the rulers of this age.

Yuvarājadeva has also been addressed as Ujjayini *bhujanga*, which indicates his enmity with the Paramāras of Mālava. The *Bihari inscription*²¹ describes the conquests of Yuvarājadeva up to three seas—Arabian sea, Indian ocean and the bay of Bengal in the south, and up to the Himalayas (Kailāśa) in the north. He bore the epithets of *Parameśvar* and *Trikalingādhipati*, *Parameśvar* was an imperial title. The second title shows that order (north Orissa), Utkala (south Orissa) and Kalinga were under his occupation. He married the Chālukya princess Nōhalādevi. He got this daughter, Kandaka, to the Rāṣtrakūṭa ruler, Amoghavarṣa III. It seems that struggles started with Chandels in his last days. According to one *Khajurāho inscriptions*,²² Chedirāja (Yuvarājadeva I) defeated Chandel king Yaśovarmana. In this record he has been mentioned as 'one who put his foot on the heads of famous kings'. In Rājāśekhara's '*Viddhaśāla Bhanjikā*' he has been described as *Ujjayanibhujang*, which shows that he attacked Mālava also. As Mālava was adjoined with his territories, so it is a historical fact. He has also been described as *Cakravartī* and *Trikalingādhipati*, in the above mentioned drama. Perhaps he was defeated by Chandel Rāja Yaśovarmā in his last days, yet his political honour and prestige remained as ever and many poets and authors kept coming to his court to seek his patronage.

The famous Sanskrit and Prākṛit poet Rājāśekhara, who lived in the court of Mahendrapāla I and Mahipāla Pratihāras, perhaps left their patronage in the days of their adversity, and leaving Kanauja went to Tripuri in Kalcuri Court, in his old age and became an admirer poet of Yuvarājadeva. There he wrote *Viddhaśāla Bhanjikā* and *Kāvyamimāṃsā*. Yuvarājadeva was a Śaiva like his ancestors. He got constructed, in Gurgi, a temple along with a *Maṭha* for Prabhāvaśiva named Śaiva *sādhu* and other *sādhus* living with him. He also got constructed

20. गौड़ी-गाट मनोमनोरथ करः कर्णाट-कान्ता-कुच क्रीडा शैल-तटी-विहार-हरिणी लाटी-ललाराङ्गन्दः।
काश्मीरी विहित स्मर व्याति करस्तर मात्कलिंगांगना संगान-व्यसिनी स नीति-नयनः केयूर वर्षोऽभवत् ॥

21. *Corpus*, Vol. IV, p. 211, *Sloka 27*.

22. *El*, Vol. I, p. 127, Dhanya's *Khajurāho inscription*
'विष्णुतक्षितिपाल मौलिरचनाविन्यस्तपादाम्बुजचेदिराजम्ब'।

the famous temple of *Chausath Yoganis* (sixty four female ascetics) at Bheḍāghāṭa. Bhākamiśra and Gollaka were his two famous ministers.

Lakṣmaṇarāja II (c. 945 – 970 A.D.)

Lakṣmaṇarāja, son of Yuvarājadeva I and queen Nohalādevi became king in c. 945 A.D. It is said about him that “he defeated the ruler of Bengal, humiliated the Pāṇḍya ruler, looted the king of Lāṭa, conquered Gurjar king and the brave of Kashmir worshipped his feet by bowing his head”.²³ This description looks like of a *digvijaya*. At that time North and South India was passing through such a transit period, when the Pratihāras of Kanauj and the Pālas of Gauḍa-Magadha had lost their power, but the new forces of the transition of 11th and 12th centuries struggling for the empire had not emerged fully. In this military and political void, it was not difficult for any ambitious person to go farther conquering. The *Bilahari inscription*²⁴ of Yuvaraja II mentions that “Conquering the owner of Kosala (Kosalanātha) and marching forward he got the jewelled and golden image of Kāliya (Nāga) from the king of Orissa”, by which he worshipped Somanātha. His conquest of Lāṭa proves that he also conquered Gurjara and Lāṭa of western India also. These two states were in possession of the Gujarat Pratihāra king Mahipāla I and on the decline of their power. Lakṣmaṇa defeated some successor of Mahipāli I, which is indicated by the Goharavā inscription. The mention of Odra, that is Orissa, with Kosala clearly shows that Kosala in this context is Mahā Kosala (Chhatisgarh), not the north Kosala. That area was near to the self governed region of the Kalacuris, the description of the conquests of which are found in the Kalacuri inscriptions about the time before Lakṣmaṇarāja.

The Chandel invasions from the North went on in his time also. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas made attacks from the south. According to one Kannaḍa Inscription, Kṛṣṇa III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, established one victory tower in Cedi state. The reigning period of Kṛṣṇa III is 939-967 A.D. In fact he was the ablest ruler of Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. It seems that the Kalacuri power had weakened for some time. His son, Śankaragaṇa III succeeded him in 970 A.D. He was defeated by Chandelas. The Paramāra king of Mālava, Muñja, also defeated him and occupied Tripuri for some time.²⁵

Yuvarājadeva II (c. 980-990 A.D.)

Perhaps Śankaragaṇa III was issueless and so was succeeded by his younger brother Yuvarājadeva II. He was weak from military point of view. Consequently, the Paramāra king Vākpati (Munjarāja—974-995 A.D.) attacked him, killed his commanders and occupied Tripuri for some time.²⁶ Incidentally Vākpati was forced by war from other directions to make treaty with Yuvarājadeva and returned.²⁷

23. *Corpus*, Vol. IV, p. 256, *sloka* 8.

24. *Corpus*, Vol. IV, pp. 213-214. *sloka* 62.

25. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 235, *Udaipur praśasti*.

26. *JA*, Bengal, Vol. XXXI, p. III, note 2.

27. *Udaipur prasasti*, *EI*, Vol. I, p. 235, V.V. Mirashi, *IHQ*, Vol. IX, pp. 132ff

Kokalla II (c.990 – 1015 A.D.)

At the time of death of Yūvarājadeva II perhaps his son was very young, but with the advice of the ministers, he was made ruler. *The Gurgi inscription*²⁸ describes that the rulers of Gurjar, Gauḍa and Kuntala feared of his might fled away leaving their states. Perhaps, the power of the Kalacuris, after the death of Lakṣmaṇa II, had declined for four or five decades. But the masters, power and authority did not remain in this condition for long. Soon they attained the heights.

Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya (c.1015 – 1040 A.D.)

Gāṅgeyadeva II, son and successor of Kokalla II, became the ruler in c.1015 A.D. At that time, the weak Kalacuri state was being challenged by the Chandela king Vidyādhara and the powerful Paramāra king, Bhoja. To establish the Kalacuri power on the political stage is the special feature of Gāṅgeyadeva in history, revelation of which clarifies his successive successes. Only two inscriptions of his reign have been discovered so far.²⁹

Perhaps the early position of Gāṅgeyadeva was of a subordinate. He has been described as *Mahārhamahāmahattaka* and *Mahārājā* in the *Mukandpur inscription* of Kalacuri *Samvata* 792 (1019 A.D.), which had, generally, been the title of the feudal chieftains. At that time, Vidyādhara Chandela (1018-1019 A.D.) was at his zenith, perhaps, Gāṅgeyadeva was his chieftain. According to the Chandela inscription found from Khajurāho, “Bhoja and Kalacuricandra worshipped the slayer of the Kānyakubja king, war expert and highly placed (Vidyādhara) in the same manner as the disciple worships his mentor”.³⁰ Generally all scholars identify ‘Kalacuricandra’ with Gāṅgeyadeva. Mirashi³¹ is of the opinion that Bhoja and Gāṅgeyadeva also participated, like the Kachavāha ruler, Arjun, in killing the Kanauja ruler Rāyapāla. It is also possible that being equally afraid of the wrath of Vidyādhara Chandel, both Paramāra Bhoja and Gāṅgeyadeva might had become friends. Probably Gāṅgeyadeva did accept the suzerainty of the Chandels, but his eyes were on the areas of Trilochana Pāla who was planted on the Pratihāra throne by Vidyādhara, and due to this reason there was every possibility of his coming in conflict with the Chandelas. Consequently he made friendship with Bhoja, and participated in his war against the Chālukya ruler, Jaisinha II (1015 – 1042 A.D.) of Kalyāṇi. According to the *Kulenūr inscription*,³² Bhoja, Gāṅgeyadeva and Rājendra Chola formed an alliance against Jaisimha, and attached the Chālukya state from three sides and emerged victorious. This has also been indicated in the *Goharavā inscription* (sloka 17) of Karṇa in context to ‘Kuntalabhanga’, and

28. *Corpus*, Vol. IV, p. 230, sloka 34.

29. *Mukhand pur inscription*, and *Pyānvā inscription* of Kalacuri *Samvata* 789, *Corpus*, Vol. IV, pp. 234 ff.

30. विहित कान्यकुब्ज भूपाल भग समरगुरु उपास्तप्रोद्ध-सह कलचुरिचन्द्र शिष्यवत् भोजदेतः ।

31. *Op.cit.*

32. *El*, Vol. XV, p. 331.

the *Khaira and Jabalpur inscriptions* of Yasah Karna are, perhaps, indicative of this conquest of Gāṅgeyadeva.³³ But, perhaps, he was not benefited by this conquest on Jaisimha, and he, along with his allies, had to return after being defeated by Jaisimha.³⁴ With the defeat of this Mālava-Kalacuri-Chola alliance ended the political and military friendship of Gāṅgeyadeva and Bhoja.

After depriving of Konkan in c. 1024 A.D. by Jaisimha II, Bhoja began to think of conquering the north India. This was the aim of Gāṅgeyadeva also. After the death of Vidyādhara in about 1029 A.D., the weakness, of the Chandelas and the end of the central India was giving an open invitation for militarily ambitious persons. In this situation Bhoja and Gāṅgeyadeva clashed. According to the *Udaipur Prasasti*³⁵ of Paramāras and the *Kalavana inscription*³⁶ of Bhoja's chieftain Yasovarmā, Bhoja defeated Cediśvara (Gāṅgeyadeva).³⁷

The inscriptions of his son Karna give Gāṅgeyadeva credit of annexing the wealth of the ruler of Angadesa.³⁸ But an inscription³⁹ of Mahipāla in his 48th regnal year found at Imadpur in the Muzaffarpur district proves the occupation of the Pālas on Anga. In his situation it is not clear how much success Gāṅgeyadeva got in the direction of Anga and Magadha, because his contemporary Pāla ruler, Mahipāla I (c. 988-1038 A.D.) was also a powerful and ambitious ruler. According to the *Rinva inscription* of Karna, Gāṅgeyadeva conquered Orissa. According to the 19th *sloka*⁴⁰ of that inscription, "the sea-beach become red with the blood of elephants killed by his soldiers". The *Goharavā inscription*⁴¹ clearly mentions that "conquering the Utkala ruler as if he established a victory tower on the sea shore". The Kalacuri chieftain of Tummana, Kamalarāja, created history of his bravery.⁴² After this, his war with the Śivagupta Yayati, the ruler of South Kosala, went on for long. In the end Gāṅgeyadeva won. Mirashi is of the opinion that after this victory Gāṅgeyadeva bore the title of *Trikalingādhipati*.⁴³

After the death of Chandela Vidyadhara he declared himself sovereign and started for the expansion of his empire. Conquering Kāsi and Prayāga, he annexed the *Doab* and attacking on the king of Kira (the valley of Kangra) arrested him.⁴⁴ The last one was only a military expedition, but he subjugated Kāsi, Prayāga and the *doab* in his empire. When Ahmad Niyaltagin made an attack on Vārāṇasī in 1033 A.D., it was under Gāṅgeyadeva

33. *Corpus*, Vol. IV, pp. 256, 293, *sloka* 11, p. 303, *sloka* 11.

34. *EI*, Vol. V. p. 17.

35. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 235, *sloka* 19.

36. *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 69.

37. See, *Pārijātamanjari*, *EI*, Vol VIII, p. 101, *sloka* 3.

38. *Corpus*, Vol. IV, p. 256, *sloka* 17.

39. *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 165ff.

40. *Corpus*, Vol IV, p. 269.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 257, *sloka* 17.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 405, *sloka* 9.

43. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, p. 90.

44. The *Varanasi inscription* of Karna, *Corpus*, Vol. IV, p. 256, *sloka* 17.

then.⁴⁵ This sudden attack was just for loot and the plunderers did not stay for more than half day. It seems that the Muslim army had full knowledge of Gāngeyadeva's military power and they did not want to become a target of his anger. Perhaps Gāngeyadeva snatched the areas adjoining Vārāṇasī from the chieftains of the Pāla king Mahipāla, whose occupation is proved in 1026 A.D. by an inscription⁴⁶ found at Śaranatha. The inscriptions found at Khaira and Jabalpur also prove the occupation of Gāngeyadeva over Prayag in which it has been mentioned that Gāngeyadeva had made his abode under the banyan tree and 'attained salvation along with 100 queens'. This selection of place can only be possible when that *triveni* spot of Prayag could be within his state-territory. His coins found at various places in Uttar Pradesh also prove his occupation there.⁴⁷

As a result of these victories, Gāngeyadeva bore the imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* *Parameśvara* and *Mahāmandaleśvara*, which are known by the *Pyānvā* inscription of Kalacuri *samvata* 789 (1037-38 A.D.) issued nearly in his last days of his reign. According to the *Khaira inscription* of Yasah Karṇa, he also bore the title of *Vikramāditya*. Making the best of all opportunities, Gāngeyadeva made an important position in the history of North India. He had a creditable contribution in taking the Kalacuri power to zenith. He has been styled '*Jitviśva*' (world conquerer) in an inscription of the Chandelas. He was a devotee of Śiva and he got the Śiva temples constructed at many places befitting the family tradition of the Kalacuris. His religious behaviour was full of tolerance.

The Zenith of Kalacuri Power : Karṇa or Lakṣmi Karṇa (c. 1041-1072 A.D.)

After Gāngeyadeva, his son Lakṣmi Karṇa became the ruler in 1041 A.D. He was a great conqueror like his father. He made many successful attacks in east, west and south. According to the *Riva inscription*, he won the ruler of eastern Bengal. There is a mention in the *Bhedāghāt inscription*, of Naṛasimha that both Kalinga and Banga were subjugated together by Lakṣmi Karṇa at one time. He attacked Kanci and Kuntala and destroyed the power of the Pallavas (the Tonḍaka Yādavas), mention is also found of his attack on the Gurjara country. But it seems that the ruler of that country made treaty with him. He made all these attacks for occupation, he did not subjugate these areas in his empire. He was a bitter enemy of the Paramāras of Mālava. He formed a military alliance with the Gurjara ruler Bhīma against the Paramāras. According to some historians, the Paramāra king Bhoja was captured and killed in his place in an attack, while others think that he had already died, therefore Lakṣmi Karṇa removed his successor Jaisimha from the throne and occupied Dhāra. The Chālukyas also did not tolerate this rise of the Kalacuris. Therefore they attacked Tripuri. Lakṣmi Karṇa bought peace with money and made a treaty with the Chālukyas.

45. Elliot and Dawson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II, p. 213, *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 29-30,

46. *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 139-140.

47. *Corpus*, Vol. IV, p. 293, *śloka* 12.

A great deal of struggle was going on in the north of the Deccan during the time between Paramāra Bhoja on one hand and Kalacuri Kaṇa and Chālukyas Bhīma I on the other. Sandwiched between the forces of these powerful adversaries, the Paramāra kingdom lay prostrate. What followed thereafter is well described in the *Udayapur praśasti*⁴⁸ and the *Nagpur praśasti*⁴⁹ of Naravarman. Kalacuri Kaṇa's resounding victory over Mālava must have induced him to cast his covetous eyes across the Deccan plateau. His *Rewa stone inscription*⁵⁰ dated in Kalacuri year 800 (1148-49 A.D.) states that in course of his southern expedition, Kaṇa subdued the Kuntalas and Pallavas, and that his forces advanced as far as Kānci. Although some of the description of his exploits, as shown by Mirashi,⁵¹ appears fanciful, there is no doubt that Kaṇa's indomitable zeal and lust for territories must have struck terror in the hearts of his immediate neighbours. D.G. Ganguly relying on the *Rewa stone inscription*⁵² of Kalacuri year 812 (1100 A.D.) suggests that Kaṇa's general, Vapullaka, conquered the Śvetapāda country, i.e., Nasik region, along with Lāṭa country.⁵³ The Kalacuri record refers to two battles fought by Vapullaka, one called the battle of the horses, and the other, fought at the foot of the yellow mountain. Mirashi has, however, shown that the yellow mountain over which Vapullaka achieved his victory, was not in Gujarat but was in Bundelkhanda.⁵⁴

The political conditions in *Deccan* at that time were also favourable to Kaṇa's ambitious military projects. The Chālukya hegemony over the *Deccan* was under heavy stress and strain. The long-drawn war between the Chālukyas and the Cholas was the primary reason for this lossening of the Chālukyan hold over the *Deccan*. The battle of Koppam fought in 1054 A.D. was a great military defeat and a political disaster for the Chālukyas. According to Rajbali Pandey, Kaṇa had achieved this before 1052 A.D. The disaster must have resulted in the loss of their influence and power among their feudatories (of Chālukyas). Added to this Someśvara I's failure to turn up at Kūḍal to meet his Chola adversary Virarājendra whom he challenged with all the gusto at his command, and his subsequent suicide in the Tungabhadra speaks of the utter humiliation suffered by the Chālukya king. As for Someśvar II, he was too weak and incompetent ruler. It was, therefore, quite natural for a powerful and ambitious king like Kaṇa to exploit the situation to his best advantage. He must have attempted to bring the entire *Deccan* regions, if not the entire southern region, under his sphere of influence. It is probably this state of affairs which the *Bassan grant* of Seuṇḍandra II alludes to. As the grant praises the Yādava king for rescuing his kingdom like Viṣṇu, it appears that the Yādava kingdom was completely subjugated by the Kalacuri ruler. During

48. *El*, I, V.21, pp. 236, 238.

49. *El*, I, V. 32, pp. 185, 192.

50. *CII*, IV, Pt. I, pp. 263-275.

51. *CII*, IV, Pt. I, intro., p. XCIV also the *Rewa inscription, Corpus*, Vol IV, p. 270 sloka 23.

52. *MASI*, No. 23, p. 132.

53. *History of Paramāra Dynasty*, University of Dacca, 1932, p. 123.

54. *CII*, IV, I, p. 280.

this period, the Yādava chiefs of Devagiri probably suffered some diminution in their rank and authority.

According to the *Bhedāghāt inscription* of Narasimha, the ruler of Kalinga was afraid of Karṇa. Then there ruled *Somavamsi* Chandihara Yayāti (1025-1055 A.D.) and Udyota Kesari Mahābhāvagupta IV (1055-1080 A.D.). He conquered the kings of Dāhala, Odra and Gauḍa.⁵⁵ On the basis of contradictory evidences so much is definite that a struggle took place between Lakṣmikaṛṇa and Mahābhāvagupta in which he might have lost, but it was opposite in the time of Chandihara Yayāti, Lakṣmikaṛṇa emerged victorious in an attack on Orissa.

After Mahipāla I (988 – 1038 A.D.), the Pāla power again began to dwindle. Perhaps Gāṅgeyadeva had started attacking king on the Pālas in his last days. The first attack of Lakṣmikaṛṇa was on Nayapāla (1038 – 1055 A.D.).⁵⁶ But it was not a decisive war and they both conducted a peace treaty through the mediation of the Buddhist monk, Dipāṅkara. He married his daughter Yauvanaśrī with Nayapāla and established friendship with him.⁵⁷ The Pālas were the Yādavas and Lakṣmikaṛṇa made friendship with by giving daughter (*Kanyopāyana*). After the death of Nayapāla, Lakṣmikaṛṇa broke the treaty and attacked the Pālas, in which Lakṣmikaṛṇa is said to be victorious.⁵⁸

Lakṣmikaṛṇa emerged the strongest king by 1052 A.D. The sway of his state power was extended upto Bengal in the east, Gujarat in the west, Kangra in the north and upto Chālukya and Chola kings in the south. But he annexed only Mālava and Jejakaḥukti (Bundelkhand) in his empire. The Pāla king in the east and the Gurjara king Bhīma in the west were his friends. The Cholas of south shivered with fear of his name. He had complete influence in the north. In 1052-53 A.D., he again got himself consecrated and bore the title of *Chakravarti*. In fact he was Napoleon of the medieval ages.⁵⁹ But he had to meet many defeats in his last days of life. The Mālava king Jayasimha allied together with the Kalyāṇi Chālukya king Someśvara Ahavamalla I,⁶⁰ and they both attacked Cedi. The Chalukya king Vikramāditya became successful in putting Jayasimha on the throne of Mālava after defeating the Cedi king. The Chandela king Kirtivarman defeat Lakṣmikaṛṇa from north. These events show that the Kalacuri power was on decline. But undoubtedly, Lakṣmikaṛṇa was the greatest king of this dynasty and of his time.⁶¹ He was a great patron of religion, literature and art. He consecrated his son Yasah Karṇa in his life time in 1073 A.D.

55. JAGB. Vol. XIII, p. 72.

56. *Renwa inscription, Corpus*, Vol. IV, p. 270, Sarat, Chander Das, *Indian Pandits in the land of Snow*, Calcutta, 1893, p. 41.

57. Rajbali Pandey, *op.cit.*, pp. 192-93.

58. *Corpus*, Vol. IV, pp. 250ff.

59. Pandey, Rajbali, p. 160.

60. *Karnataka through the Ages*, p. 274.

61. See, Upadhyaya, Vasudeva, *Pracina Bhartiya Mudrāyen*, Patna, 1971, p. 201.

Yasah Kaṃa (c. 1073-1123 A.D.): The end

Yasah Kaṃa, with the help of the Kalacuri king of Ratnapur, Jajjaladeva, attacked on Vikramāditya in 1073 A.D. and defeated him. He also invaded Champaran (north Bihar), but without any success. The fall of the Kalacuri empire set in his time. Kanauj and Mālava became independent. The Gahaḍavālas snatched Vārāṇasī from the Kalacuris. Paramāra Lakṣmanadeva defeated Yasah Kaṃa in his own territory. Chandela king Sallakṣmaṇa Varman invaded the Cedi state. The Chālukyas also invaded from south. The end of his authority came in c.1123 A.D.

Gayakaṃa and Narasimha, and successors of Yasah Kaṃa were not so powerful who could reestablish lost dignity of their dynasty. Narasimha's brother Jayasimha was, no doubt, brave, but the enemies of Kalacuris had become so powerful by that time that he could not achieve any specific success. His weak successors were so much pressed by the Yādavas of Devagiri in south and the Chandelas (another branch of Yādavas) from north that the Kalacuri dynasty of Tripuri came to an end at last. The last king of this dynasty was Vinayasimha. He ruled Dāhala Maṇḍal and Baghelkhand upto 1121 A.D., but these provinces were also snatched by Chandela ruler Trilokya Varman. At that time, the Muslim invasions started, which created danger for all kingdoms of south.

CHAPTER SIX

THE PĀLA-YĀDAVA DYNASTY

After the demise of Gaura or Gauḍa ruler, Śaśānka (c. A.D. 625–630), the ‘law of jungle’ prevailed in Bengal. According to the *Khalimapur inscription*¹ of Dharma Pāla, “to emancipate from the rule of jungle the nature gave hold of *Rajya lakṣmi*’s (State wealth) arm to Gopāla Ābhira”. Tārānātha, the Tibetan historian,² also confirms the selection of Gopāla as the king to end anarchy prevailing in Bengal.

Their Origin

The Indian historians, perhaps, intentionally tried to shroud in mystery the origin of the dynasties. The ending epithets have been taken as the name of the dynasty and thus the historians have created new dynasties, e.g., Vardhans, Guptas, Pālas, etc. The Brāhmaṇa or so called Hindu historians described the followers of Boddha, Jaina or other religions as Śūdras, of low caste, anonymous or of unknown caste or family, whereas the rulers themselves admitted of belonging to a particular caste or family. As Gopāla and his predecessors were Buddhists, and were husbandsmen and agriculturists, they had become rulers by dint of their might by ending the anarchy prevailing in Bengal, then how could the educated and civilised historians tolerate the rise of an anonymous Ābhira-Yadava? The agriculturists, cowherdsmen, robust ruralites had always been looked down upon by the so called civilized people. The *Khalimapura plate* explicitly mention the name of the father of Gopāla as Bapyāṭa and of grand father as Datiya Viṣṇu. According to Tārānātha,³ Gopala’s mother was born in a kṣatriya family and Gopāla was born in Puṇḍravardhana. Bu-Stone, another Tibetan historian, also confirms the birth of Gopāla in the same way.⁴ *Khalimapura inscription* describes Daddadevi, mother of Gopāla, as ‘*Bhadrātmajā*’ (daughter of Bhadra), by which some scholars infer that she was born in a dynasty of rulers of Samatāṭa with ‘Bhadra’ ending dynasty.⁵

1. AI, IV, S 2, p. 248.

2. See, *Ibid.*, p. 366.

3. See, IHQ, Vol. XVI, pp. 221-222.

4. Bu-Stone, *History of Buddhism* (English translation by Oliver Miller), Vol. II, p. 156.

5. See, R.C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 79.

Dharmapāla (c.A.D. 770-810)

According to Tārānātha, Gopāla ruled for 45 years,⁶ but the *Manjuśrīmūlakalpa*⁷ says that it was just for 27 years. It has also mentioned in it that he died at the age of 80 on banks of the Ganga. After his death, Dharmapāla, his son, became the ruler. He was a contemporary of Vatsrāja and Nāgabhaṭṭha-II the Gurjar Pratihāra rulers, and Dhruva and Govinda-III, the Rāṣtrakūṭa rulers. As some dates are known of these four rulers, so it can be said that Dharmapāla ruled in the fourth quarter of the eighth century or the first quarter of the ninth century.

Dharmapāla inherited a well set up government and a peaceful political environment. To expand his political sway, he used his talent and skill in such a way that it has become an important chapter of the Indian, particularly of Bengal, history. Incidentally there was a political void in North India at that time. Traditionally it had been a heartland of the empires, but, at that time, there was no such central power who had attained the importance of the Mauryas, Guptas or Vardhanas. In such conditions the three emerging powers of east, west and south India had an eye on the contemporary political centre of India, Kanauj. These three powers were— Pāla, Gurjara, Pratihāra and Rāṣtrakūṭas. These three emerged at the same time respectively in Bengal, Rajputānā-Mālawa and *Dakṣiṇāpatha*, and continued to struggle for about 100 - 150 years. They all had a similar aim to establish an empire over India of their own. In this struggle, the Pālas and Rāṣtrakūṭas were conspicuously the Yādavas, but they did not combine together in their effort to establish an empire of the Yādavas. They fought against each other for dominance and superiority. The rulers never combine together in the name of caste, creed or religion. They struggled for superiority. Other contenders were Gurjars. The inspiring factors of their competition had not been economic fundamentally. These brave people just want to demonstrate their valour. They sowed swords and reaped wars. This was their occupation and hobby. Their aim was to establish their empire also. Nationalism was but a fake conception in those ages. Every ruler was interested in his own splendour and expansion of his empire. Albeit he was also a defender of faith. These rulers had no idea of political or military unification. Every ruling dynasty neither wanted to finish any ruling family, nor let it be stronger. These army expeditions were either for show of strength or for extracting money. Invasions of the Rāṣtrakūṭas failed to influence permanently the political situation of the North India.

According to Tārānātha, the expansion of the reign of Dharmapāla was from bay of Bengal in the east to Vindhyas in the south. Pāla inscriptions also testify that he defeated and removed Indrāyudha from the throne of Kanauj and appointed his son Cakrāyudha as his representative. The rulers of Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kīra were present to pay obeisance in the Kanauj court at the time of coronation of Dharmapāla.⁸ Cakrāyudha, the weak ruler of Kānyakubja, was dependent and subordinate

6. *Ibid.*

7. Jayaswasi, K.P., *Imperial History*, p. 48.

8. *Khalimpura Inscription*, 12, AI, Vol. IV, p. 248.

of Dharmapāla. The *Bhagalpur inscription*⁹ of Nārāyaṇa Pāla explains this fact more explicitly: "Dharmapāla returned Kanauj, the conquered territory, to Cakrāyudha, the beggar, after defeating Indrarājā and other enemies, as Bāli donated the three *lokas* to Viṣṇu disguised as Vāmana, after defeating Indra, etc., enemies".

The area of political sway of Dharmapāla can be imagined by recognising the territories of different kings in this context. Kanauj was the capital of Pancāla, and the mention of Pancālavrdhas indicates to the subjects of that state. Matsya is modern area consisting of Alwar, Bharatpur, Jaipur and Karauli. Yadu indicates the people living in the vicinity of Mathurā (Majumdar thinks that the Yadus were the people of Simhapur in Panjab); Avanti indicates Mālava; Kurudeśa was modern Delhi and was from Indraprastha to Kurukṣetra; Yavanas were perhaps the Arabs of Sindh; Gandhāra was consisted of the North-Western Panjab and Frontier province, and Kīra was the Kangra district of Himachal. All these provinces were situated in the north, north-west and west of Kanauj. Only the Bhoja Yādava kingdom was situated in Vidarbha in the south-west of Kanauj. According to the *Mungher inscription* of Devapāla, the soldiers of Dharmapāla took bath in the sacred places of Kedar and Gokarna. In the same place, their taking bath in Ganga Sagar of those soldiers has also been mentioned. Soḍḍhal, the Gujrati poet of Sanskrit of eleventh century, gives him the epithet of "*Uttarāpatha-swāmī*",¹⁰ the lord of the North. Definitely, Dharmapāla had become the most prominent power of North India. His hey days were between A.D. 785 – 800, when Dhruva, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, had returned to Dakṣiṇapatha after his north Indian expedition and the Gurjar Pratihāras were staggering after their defeat from Dharmapāla.

Estimation of Dharmapāla

According to the *Mungher inscription*¹¹ of Devapāla, he obtained the kingdom of his father without any hurdle as Bodhisatva attained *Buddhapada*. Dharmapāla was a great conqueror, able diplomat and very successful ruler. He got a small kingdom of Bengal in heritance from his father Gopāla, but he rose to be the most prominent power of North India. He had the titles of *Param Bhaṭṭārak*, *Parameśwar* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. His younger brother Vakapāla, was helpful to him in his conquests, who was also his commander in chief. Dharmapāla was a righteous ruler. He was a Buddhist, but he revered other religions also.¹² He established a famous *vihār* in Soyapur (in Paharpur of Rajasahi district) of Vārendri (western and northern Bengal) in addition to the famous University of Vikramsila Vihar (34 k.m. east of Bhagalpur, the modern Patharghata).¹³ It shows his love for higher pursuits and

9. IA, Vol. XV, p. 305.

10. See *Udayasundrikathā*, published by Gaikwad Sanskrit Series, p. 4.

11. E.A, Vol. 21, p. 255.

12. AI, Vol. IV, p. 254.

13. Dey, Nandlal, JASB, Vol. V, p.1.

higher education. He ruled, according to Tārānātha, for 64 years. Dharmapāla was of religious mentality and a great patron of education and art.

Devapāla (c.A.D. 810 – 850)

The date of accession of Devapāla is also not definite. According to Majumdar, his reigning period was from 810 to 850 A.D.,¹⁴ according to Rajbali Pandey¹⁵ it was 815 – 855 A.D., and according to V.P. Sinha¹⁶ it was 818 – 858 A.D. Dharmapāla married, according to the *Mungher inscription*, Raṇnadevi, daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Prabala. Devapāla was born to them, who succeeded his father Dharmapāla. He, like his father, bore the imperial titles of *Paramēśwar*, *Baṭṭhāraka* and *Mahārājadhira*. He was the most powerful king of his dynasty. According to the *Badal inscription*, he annexed Orissa in his kingdom, defeated Hūṇas, Gurjara and Draviḍa kings.¹⁷ The *Mungher Copperplate inscription*, founded of his 33rd regnal year, informs us of his rule up to the bridge constructed by Rama. He conquered Assam under the command of his brother Jaipāla, and subjugated it.¹⁸ Devapāla checked the increasing power of Pratihāra king Rājā Mihira Bhoja in the east. He established his sway from the Himalayas to Rameśwara in the South. Devapāla was the most powerful sovereign Indian ruler of his times, and there was none to challenge his military power and political supremacy. According to the *Badal pillar inscription* of Nārāyaṇapāla, Devapāla made “the whole territory tax-payer which was situated between the father of Narmada (place origin), Vindhyaśāla, and the Himalaya, the father of Parvati, between the western sea to the eastern sea”.¹⁹ It has also been said that with the help of the skilful mind of minister Duruhapāni, grand son of Kedāramiśra, he uprooted the Utkals, humiliated the Hūṇas, and defeating the Draviḍa, Hūṇa and Gurjara kings, he enjoyed the earth encircled by the seas.²⁰ This has also been described in the *Bhagalpur inscription*²¹ of Nārāyaṇapāla that ‘the king of Utkal fled away from his capital and the ruler of Prāgjyotiṣa ruled his state in obedience.’²² Identification of these places mentioned in these inscriptions reveal that Devapāla expanded his political and military power in all the four directions. On these evidences, scholars like R.C. Majumdar,²³ accept that “from Assam to Kashmir, the whole of north India was under his sovereignty and his victorious armies had marched from Sindhu to the upper ridges of the Brahmaputra, from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas, and, perhaps, up to the south most end

14. *Op.cit.*, p. 216.

15. *Yadu Vamsa Ka Itihasa*, pp. 191-92.

16. *Op.cit.*, p. 375.

17. *AI*, II, pp. 160 – 67.

18. *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 305.

19. *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 160, 165, *Śloka* 5.

20. *Ibid.*, *śloka* 13.

21. *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 305.

22. *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 165 ff.

23. *Op.cit.*, p. 121.

of India". It is believed that at the time of weak rule of Rāmabhadra the Gurjar Pratihāras had experienced the attack of Devapāla.²⁴ But in the opinion of Majumdar²⁵ and Ramasankar Tripathi,²⁶ he was Bhoja I who was humiliated by Devapāla. In the *Badal pillar inscription*, this credit has been given to Kedāramiśra, the minister of Devapāla. Majumdar is of the view that the act of suppressing the Gurjars might had been done in the last years of Devapāla's rule, any time between 840 – 850 A.D. Bhoja had to face many attacks and revolts after the attack of Devapāla, prominent of which were the attacks of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and becoming free of the Jodhpur branch of the Pratihāras.

The meaning of uprooting of the Utkals is taken that Devapāla made many attacks on Śivakaradeva II or Śāntikaradeva I of Orissa and completely subjugated it.²⁷ V.P. Sinha²⁸ has identified the Draviḍas with the Pallava-Yādavas of Kānci, whereas Majumdar²⁹ has identified the Draviḍa enemy with Pāṇḍya Śrīmāra Śrī Vallabha (815 – 862 A.D.). The purpose of Devapāla's attack on Vindhya, Orissa and far south was to confine the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Yādavas to their dominions. Undoubtedly, Devapāla got many military and political achievements in the east, south-east, south-west and north.

Devapāla was the greatest conqueror of his dynasty, who expanded the Pāla empire to Kāmarūpa in the east, Kaling in the south, and Vindhya and Mālava in the west. His victorious armies marched up to Kānci in the south and Tibet in the north, and kept the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Gurjaras confined in their own territories. If the Pāla inscriptions attribute importance to his autocracy, there is nothing surprising about it. The reason of his victories was the success of his administration. He was, like his father, a Buddhist. He took keen interest in the sprouting and development of Nalandā and Vikramśilā and gave donations to many other Bodhi temples and viharās. Due to this, Tārānātha calls him the regenerator of Buddhists.

Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 854 – 915 A.D.)

According to Rajbali Pandey, Nārāyaṇapāla was the son of Devapāla, who was the son of Lajjā, the daughter of Cedirāja Kokalla I. But according to different sources, Nārāyaṇapāla was born to queen Lajjādevi of Haihaya vamsa, wife of Vighrahapāla, who abdicated his throne in favour of Nārāyaṇapāla.³⁰ He was a śaivite, according to the *Bhagalpur donor's inscription*, and got thousands Śiva temples constructed and gave scholarships for these. The Pāla power got a set back in his times. Mahendrapāla I, the Pratihāra king, occupied Magadh and north Bengal. Orissa became independent, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas also began to attack. It

24. Banerjee, R.D., JBA, Vol. V, p. 56.

25. *Op. cit.*, p. 119.

26. *History of Kanauj to the Muslim Conquest*, Banaras, 1959, p. 241.

27. Majumdar, *op.cit.*, p.117, *Classical Age*, p. 67.

28. *Op.cit.*, p. 373.

29. *Op.cit.*, p. 120.

30. *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 306.

seems that he recovered north Bengal and north Bihar from the Pratihāras. He died in about 915 A.D.

Rājyapāla (c. 915 – 950 A.D.)

Rājyapāla succeeded his father Nārāyaṇapāla. He was married to Bhāgyadevi, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess, daughter of Tungadeva. This matrimonial alliance improved the relations between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Pālas. Rājyapāla was fond of constructing big and high temples and tanks, from which can be inferred that he ruled peacefully. His regnal period was at least of 32 years.

Gopāla II (c. 950 – 960 A.D.) and Vigrahapāla II (c. 960-988 A.D.)

Gopāla was born to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess Bhāgyadevi, who, later on, became the ruler. He ruled, at least, for 17 years. After that his son Vigrahapāla II became the ruler. According to the *Bāṇāgadh inscription*³¹ of his son Mahipāla I, “his fighting elephants drank water like clouds in the eastern country of plenty water, roamed freely in the sandalwood jungle of Malayadeśa; showered water with their trunks in the Marudeśa, and enjoyed in the valleys of the Himalayas”.

Some historians are of the view that the Pāla power had declined in the times of these rulers and it remained confined to a limited area. The Kalacuri king Yuvaraja I and his son Lakṣmaṇa, of Dāhala, also attacked the Pālas. The *Bilahari inscription*³² mentions that “Yuvarāja made love with the women of Gauḍa, Kaṇḍāṭa and Lāṭa, Kaśmīra and Kalinga”. The Chandel inscriptions also give indication of his attack on Gauḍa.³³ Anga and Magadha seems to have remained in possession of Gopāla II and Vigrahapāla II.

Mahipāla (c. 988 – 1038 A.D.) – Resurgence of Pāla Power

Mahipāla I succeeded his father Vigrahapāla I. The Pāla-Yādava power was at wane at that time. Mahipāla ended that situation with his military skill and political ability. A number of his inscriptions spread from southern and eastern Bengal to Vārāṇasi are the signs of his expanded territory and political sway. The Chola king of Kānci, Rājendra, invaded Bengal and Bihar in 1023 A.D. Though Mahipāla was defeated, but soon he regained his lost territory. R.D. Banerjea believes that some chieftains, who had come from Kaṇḍāṭa, settled down in West Bengal, among whose descendants Sāmantasena of the Sena vamsa was prominent.³⁴

31. *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 328 ff.

32. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 256, 265, śloka 24.

33. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 126, 132, 138, 145.

34. *Pālas of Bengal*, pp. 73, 99.

Perhaps Mahipāla had to face the attack of Kalacuri Gāngeyadeva also. His apathy to the politics of north India is surprising. His name does not find place in the descriptions of Farishta, when the combined efforts were made to defend India against the invasion of Mahmud. Some attribute him of lack of patriotism,³⁵ some of his *sanyasi* like mentality,³⁶ or his religious bigotry,³⁷ for his non-participation. How a ruler like him, who got renovated and constructed a number of Buddhist *viḥars* and Hindu temples at Banāras, Bodh Gayā, Sāranath and Nalandā,³⁸ could be a bigot? In addition to this, he established a city named Mahipur (Bogada) and got the Mahipāla didhi named tank constructed at Dinajpur. Many tanks seems to be in his name in Mursidabad. Many legends are in vogue about him even today in Bengal. He did not forget the Yādava traditions even after accepting the Buddhism.

Nayapāla (c. 1038 – 1055 A.D.)

Mahipāla I ruled for more than fifty years, yet the historians are not certain of the date of his death. After him Nayapāla, his son, became the ruler. Kalacuri Karṇa (1041 – 1073 A.D.) attacked on Nayapāla. Kalacuri records reveal that the rulers of Gauḍa and other countries presented themselves before Karṇa as subordinates³⁹ and the rulers of Banga and Kalinga shivered being afraid of him.⁴⁰ The strife between Nayapāla and Lakṣmikaṛṇa, the Kalacuri, went on for many years. They concluded a peace treaty through the efforts of Dipankar Sriyana of Mahabodhi vihar, the famous Buddhist scholar. Nayapāla married Yauvanaśri, the daughter of Lakṣmikaṛṇa.⁴¹ This was a policy to safeguard the state by way of *Kanyaupāyana* (by giving daughter).

Vigrahapāla III (1055 – 1070 A.D.)

Vilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*⁴² reveals to us that Vikramāditya VI, son of king Someśvara I Chālukya of Kalyāṇi, defeated the rulers of Gauḍa and Kāmarūp in his victory campaigns. Other Chālukya inscriptions also reveal that two Chālukya rulers before Someśvara I had also attacked Banga. Mahāśivagupta Yayāti and Udyotakesari of Orissa had also attacked on the Gauḍas at the same time.⁴³ Consequent to these attacks approximately the

35. Sinha, V.P., *op.cit.*, pp. 418-19.

36. Chanda, R.P., *Gaudarājamālā*, p. 41.

37. Banerjea, R.D., *Bangalāra Itihāsa*, Vol. I, p. 256.

38. See, *Nalanda Pillar Inscription*, JASB, New Aali, Vol. IV, p. 106; *Bodhgaya idol inscription*, R.D. Banerjea, *Palas of Bengal*, p. 75; *Sāranāth Inscription*, IA, Vol. XIV, pp. 139 ff.

39. IA, Vol. XVIII, p. 217; *Bhedāghat Inscription*, EI, Vol. II, p. 11.

40. EI, Vol. II, p. 11, *śloka* 12.

41. *Yaduvamsa Kā Itihāsa*, pp. 192-93.

42. *IHQ*, Vol. XII, p. 629.

43. Majumdar, R.C., *op.cit.*, p. 147.

whole of Bengal became free of the Gauḍas and a new Yādava dynasty of the Varman rulers came into prominence.

A war of succession, among the sons of Vighrahapāla broke out. His successor Mahipāla II imprisoned his two younger brothers Śūrapāla II and Ramapāla. In these circumstances, Divya or Divyoka, a Kaivarta chieftain, killed Mahipāla and established a new regime in Vārendri.⁴⁴ The regnal period of Mahipāla II was c. 1070-1075 A.D.

Rāmapāla (c. 1075 – 1126 A.D.)

Rāmapāla ruled the remaining territory of only Magadha and Rāḍha with the help of his sons, ministers, subordinates and many other rulers, he attacked on Vārendri. The king himself commanded the army and crossing the Ganga, he plunged on Bhīma. Bhīma was captured after a fierce battle and his armies deserted the battle field. His friend, Hari, reorganised the forces of Bhīma and challenged Ramapāla again for war. But Rāmapāla enticed him and made him subordinate and thus Vārendri was subjugated. Bhīma and all of his relatives were put to death. His maternal uncle, Mathaṇa, or Mahāṇa along with his two sons, had participated in this war.

Rāmapāla also made subordinates the rulers of south and eastern Bengal and Orissa. The Varman king of Vikrampur worshipped him giving horses and chariots in gift. Majumdar⁴⁵ is of the opinion that Rāmapāla attacked Orissa in order to check the increasing power of the Ganga rulers in the north. Keeping this in view, he made friendship with the ruler of Orissa even after defeating him. Perhaps he also defeated the Kamarūpa ruler, Dharmapāla.

Rāmapāla re-established the lost prestige of his family. He suppressed the revolts of the feudal lords and established law and order. He reduced taxes to promote agriculture and did many welfare acts. Sandhyakar Nandi has eulogised the happenings of Rāmapāla in his poetry book '*Rāmacarita*'. Therefore, Sandhyakar Nandi had direct knowledge of the happenings of the life time of Rāmapāla. Rāmapāla established a new capital, Rāmāvaṭi, and decorated it with statues of Hindu and Buddhist gods. According to Tārānātha, he ruled for 60 years. The *Chandiman inscription* also testifies his long rule for at least forty two years.

End of the Pālas

Rāmapāla was the last ruler of this great dynasty. He was the last glow. His weak successors were unable to handle his empire. His third son, Kumarpāla, succeeded him. Tingyadeva, the Assam ruler revolted against Kumarpāla. He sent his able and confident minister Vaidyadeva to suppress the revolt, who declared himself the ruler of the

44. *Rāmacarita*, ed. Harprasad Sastri, I, 29 and 38.

45. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 161, 164.

Prāgiyotiṣabhukti and Kamarūpamandal, after being successful. Consequently, the Pāla sovereignty came to an end in Assam.

Gopāla III became the ruler after Kumarapāla. There is no clear knowledge of happenings of his time. After him, Madanapāla, his younger brother, ruled for fourteen years. At that time a new Varman named Yādava dynasty came into prominence as an independent kingdom in eastern Bengal. Perhaps at the same time the Senas compelled the Pālas to move slowly and slowly from eastern Bengal to northern Bengal and Bihar. The Gahāḍavālas of Kanauj and Kasi also began to press the Pālas and occupied the territory up to Patna till 1124 A.D. Consequently, Madanapāla had to be contended in his last days of life to be the ruler of only central and eastern parts of Bihar. Govindapāla became the ruler after the death of Madanapāla in about 1150 A.D. But the power and authority of the Pālas was limited. The last ruler of this dynasty, Indradyumnapāla was a weak ruler unable to face the Turk invasion in the thirteenth century.

About the rule of Pāla-Yadavas, Rajbali Pandey writes⁴⁶: “Pāla dynasty was one of the famous dynasty of Indian history who ruled about four hundred years. Its fall was the result of the family feuds, revolt of the chieftains and rise of new powers. Bengal emerged most powerful in the times of the Pālas. They established and got constructed many schools and *viḥars*, and thus propagated education and knowledge. They also patronised architecture and sculpture, and got so many *viḥars*, *caityas* and idols in whole of Bengal and Bihar. Much of the Pāla rulers were Buddhists, and the Buddhism flourished only under the patronage of these rulers in its last days and Hinduism also coexisted. They did not oppose it, albeit they got the temples constructed and gave donation to the Brāhmaṇas”.

VARMAN DYNASTY

Govind Candra of the *Candravamsa* was the last ruler of eastern Bengal whom Rājārājendra Chola defeated. After the fall of *Candravamsa*, the Varman rulers established their rule in eastern Bengal. This took place in the second phase of the eleventh century. The Varman rulers describe themselves *Yaduvamsis* or Yādavas in their inscriptional records. The *Betava Copperplate*⁴⁷ of Bhoja Varman reveals to us that the Varman kings held their sway on Simhapur.⁴⁸ On the basis of this, some scholars have expressed the view that Simhapur was the original abode of the Varman kings, from where they migrated to eastern Bengal. According to some historians, the original Simhapur was near the salt range in Panjab, about which Huen Tsang mentions in his chronicles. According to others, it was in Kalinga, which has been mentioned in the inscriptions. Some scholars take it to be in Rāḍha

46. *Yaduvamsa Kā Itihāsa*, p. 194.

47. *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 37 ff; for other two inscriptions of the Varmans see, *Bānger Jātiya Itihāsa*, Vol. II, p. 215.

48. For the identity of Simhapur, see, Bhuller, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 10 ff; R.D. Banerjea, *JAS*, Bengal, New Avali, Vol. X, p. 124; *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 143; D.C. Ganguli, *IHQ*, Vol. XII, pp. 608-609.

in Bengal, which finds mention in the Sinhalese book *Mahāvamsa* and which is taken to be Singur of Hugali district. It is difficult to say which view is correct. In India, many places have the same name, and it may be quite possible that people migrating from one place used to name the next place of inhabitation on the old name which they left. It may be possible that some of the places named as Simhapur were inhabited by these Yādavas and who gave the name to these places in memory of their original home. At that time many ruling dynasties were compelled by the Turk invasions to leave north-western India and to settle in far off places of safety. So it may be possible that this family also migrated from Panjab.

The first famous ruler of this dynasty was king Vajravarman. It has been said of this ruler that "he was the visible *Yogakṣema* of the victorious campaign of the Yādava army and was self Yāmaraja (Lord of death) for the enemies".⁴⁹ This description reveals the victory of Varman king over eastern Bengal. The *Belava inscription* does not clearly shows whether Vajravarman was an independent ruler or he was a feudal chieftain of some other ruler. This inscription shows the epithet of *Mahārājādhirāja* with the names of Bhojavarman, the creator of this record, and his father Sāmalavarman, others are without it. It shows that Sāmalavarman was the first independent ruler, before him this family, perhaps, was subordinate to the Pālas. But Vajravarman had achieved independent rule with his bravery and skill. Vajravarman's son was Jaṭavarman in whose times the Tripuri king Kalacuri Karṇa invaded Bengal, but Karṇa returned Bengal to the Varmanas even after conquering it and got his daughter Viraśrī married to Jaṭavarman. When Varmanas were ruling in the eastern Bengal, there was much chaos in the northern Bengal, Kaivatra Divya revolted and established his rule. Jaṭavarman attacked northern Bengal and defeated Divya. According to the *Nalanda inscription* the Banga army destroyed the Buddhist *Mahāvihāra* of Somapur (present Paharapur). After defeating Divya, Jaṭavarman reached up to the boundary of Anga. There, in Anga, ruled some Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Mathandeva or his some representative. Jaṭavarman made a successful campaign on Anga also. But he did not include north Bengal and Anga in his kingdom, he returned with victory and gifts only. It seems that some reaction against Vajrayāni Buddhism had started in eastern Bengal. That is why, his army destroyed the Budha Vihar. At the very time, Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva and his father Govardhan were propagating against the corrupt practices of Buddhism. These pandits were getting the patronage of these Varman kings. Jaṭavarman also attacked on Harṣapāla, the ruler of Kāmarūpa. Definitely Jaṭavarman was a powerful and victorious king. His capital was Vikrampur in east Bengal. Here an inscription created by him is found. His two sons, Harivarman and Sāmalvarman were born to Kalacuri princess. Harivarman succeeded Jaṭavarman.

Successors of Jaṭavarman

The Pālas had regained their power in north Bengal at the time of Harivarman. So they began to check the increasing power of the Varmanas. Rāmapāla attacked Harivarman, but

49. EI, Vol. XXXII, pp. 39, 40-42.

still the Varman power remained established in the eastern Bengal. Harivarman ruled for forty-six years. His treaty and war minister was Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, whose grand father Ādideva was the minister of Vajravarman. Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva had studied principles, *tantra*, mathematics and astrology and composed many books on astrology, *dharmāśāstra* and commentaries. He propagated Vedic religion, specially the Vaiṣṇavism, in opposition to Buddhism, in eastern Bengal.

Harivarman was succeeded by his younger brother, Śāmalvarman. He had many queens, to one Mālavyadevā was born Bhojavarman, who succeeded Śāmalavarman, and ruled Vikramapur for five years. The power of the Sena rulers increased in the twelfth century in Bengal. The Varman political power came to an end in the time of Vijayasena. Before the advent of the Senas, this Yādava dynasty was the only supporter of *Vedic* dharma. The registers of the Brāhmaṇas testify that these Varman-Yādava rulers were very liberal, and spent liberally to patronise *dharma*, literature and art.

Some Buddhist books and other inscriptions tell us that Harivarman ruled from Vikramapur for 46 years at least. The '*Ramapālacarita*' of Sandhyakar Nandi, describes one ruler named Hari, who gifted horses and chariots to Rāmapāla. Scholars differ on the identity of this Hari. No information is available of his sons. In contrast to it, this legend is still in vogue that Śāmalvarman brought *Vedic* Brāhmaṇas from north India and inhabited them in Bengal. His son Bhojavarman issued the *Belava copperplate inscription* in his fifth regnal year from his capital Vikramapur. The time of his reign was the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth century, after which the Senas occupied Bengal.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE JĀDAMA (BHAṬṬI)—YĀDAVAS OF JAISALMER

The Jādama is a well known branch of the Yadu or Yādava sept of Kṣatriyas or Rajputs. In some part of the country they have developed into a caste, the Jādama (Bhaṭṭi) of Jaisalmer, Jādama of the Narmada valley, etc. being some illustrious examples, so much so that they do not suffix or prefix the word Yādava with their name and have no social or marital relations with other branches of the Yādavas or Ahiras. The Jādama of Hoshangabad and Jādons of U.P. and M.P. trace their origin from the erstwhile state of Karauli (Rajasthan) from where they immigrated about eight centuries ago, went there on a foray for plunder and afterwards settled there. In south they have developed into a caste, marrying among themselves. In Hoshangabad the caste has two sub-divisions, the *Kachotia* who belong principally to the Sohagpur tahsil, and the *Adhodias* who live in Seoni and Harda. These two groups are endogamous and do not marry with each other. The Kachotias are the offspring of irregular union and are looked down upon by the others. They say that they have fifty-two exogamous groups or sections, but this number is used locally as an expression of indefinite magnitude. All the sections appear to be named after villages where their ancestors once lived, but the preference for totemism has led some of the groups to connect their names with natural objects. Thus the designation of the *Semaria* section may be held to be derived from a village of that name, both on account of its form, and because the other known section - names are taken from villages. But the *Semaria*-Jādama have adopted the *Semar* or cotton tree as their totem and pay reverence to this. But totem is rather a strong word for this kind of veneration paid, the vernacular term used in Bombay is *devak*.

The word Jādama is the *apabhraṃs* (corrupt form) of the 'Yādava'—Jādhava-Jādeva-Jādeva-Jādama. It is also taken to be the progeny of a brave and illustrious person, Jādama, son of Kṣīra¹ of *Yaduvamsa*. The abode of the Yādavas and also of the Jādama was the plateau of South and the areas adjoining the Narmada valley—the areas given to Yadu by his father Yayāti. The Yādavas known by different names are still in abundance in those area, the Jādama being prominent among them. They are proprietors, tenants and labourers, and are reckoned to be efficient cultivators, they plough with their own hands and allow their women to work in the fields. Dr. Hunter describes the Jādama as brave soldiers, but bad

1. Kṣīra or Khira had four sons, Chudasamā, Saravarya Jādama and Jewā

agriculturists. But the times have changed now. They are, now, equally good agriculturists, administrators and soldiers, but of course, bad politicians.

The Jādamas are found in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Haryana, etc. The Bhāṭṭis of Jaisalmer trace their origin from Śrīkrṣṇa and his progeny. Bhāṭṭi was the son of Bālada (third century), whose descendants, the Jādamas, became Bhāṭṭis or Bhāṭs. It is also described that king Bhāṭṭi became the ruler of Lahore in V. Samvat 336. He was an illustrious ruler. He founded Bhaṭāner city and fort in V.S. 342. "Earlier they were known as 'Jādamas', now they became Bhāṭṭi" (Khyāt, p. 31). A brief history of the Jādama-Bhāṭṭis is given here.

The Bhāṭṭis of Jaisalmer are Yādavas. They believe that a group of adventurous Yādavas immigrated to the side of Kabul, from where they returned to India some time in the seventh century A.D. The primeval man of this dynasty was Raja, whose son was Gaja. He ruled the Frontier province of the then Panjab. According to Tod it was in *Kalayuga Samvata* 3008, *Vaisakha Sudi* 3. His son was Śālivāhana, whose kingdom was Sialkot and its adjoining areas. This Śālivāhana was definitely different from Śālivāhana of Andhaka or Āndhra Bhṛtya dynasty. His son was Bālānda or Bālada, whose son was Bhāṭṭika.

Like his ancestors, and according to the traditions of the Yādavas, this king, Bhāṭṭika also started a new era- the *Bhāṭṭika Samvata*, which is indicative of some important victory's memory. The beginning of an era is taken to western India by the Jādamas. The year of his *Bhāṭṭika* era of the Jādamas is 680 A.D. The basis of this may be traced in the inscription of Parthihāra king, Bauka, which is of 894 V. *Samvata*, describes his fifth ancestor Siluka, a conqueror of Devarāja Bhāṭṭi. Devarāja was seven generations below Bhāṭṭika. If we take 20 years for one generation, the time of Bhāṭṭika comes to be near to 680 V. *Samvata*.

James Tod describes in the *Annals of Jessulmer*:² "The grand international conflicts amongst the 'fifty-six Yadu tribes' at Kurukṣetra, and subsequently at Dwārakā, are sufficiently known to the reader of Hindu history... on the dispersion of these races many abandoned India, and amongst these, two of the many sons of Kṛṣṇa. This deified leader of the Yādus had eight wives, and the offspring of the first and seventh, by a singular fate, now occupy what may be termed the outposts of Hinduism.

"Jāmavanti was the name of the seventh wife, whose eldest son was called Sāmbā, he obtained possession of the tracts on both sides of the Indus and founded the Sind-Samma dynasty, from which the Jhārajas (Jādejā) are descended. There is every probability that Sāmbā, of Nagari (Minagara), the opponent of Alexander, was a descendant of Sāmba, son of Kṛṣṇa. The Jhāreja chronicles, in ignorance of the origin of this titular appellation, say that their ancestors came from Sham or Syria.

"Rukmani was the senior of these wives and the eldest of her sons was Pradyumna, who was married to a princess of Vidarbha. She bore two sons, Aniruddha and Vajra had two sons, Nābha and Kṣira.

2. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, London, 1957, pp. 172 ff.

“... The thirty-six tribes of Rajputs hitherto oppressed by the Yadus, who had long held universal dominion, now determined to be revenged. Nābha was compelled to fly the holy city (Dwārakā), he became prince of Marusthali in the west.”

“Nabha had issue Prithibahu.”

“Khira (Kṣira) had two sons, Jhārejā and Judbhān. Judbhān (Yadubhānu) was on a pilgrimage, the goddess heard his vows, she awoke him from his sleep, and promised whatever he desired. ‘Give me land that I may inhabit’, said the youth: ‘Rule in these hills’, replied the goddess, and disappeared. When Judbhān awoke, and was yet looking out, he discovered that the prince of the country had just died without issue, and they were disputing who should succeed him. The Prime Minister said, “he dreamed that a descendant of Kṛṣṇa had arrived at Behera, and proposed to seek him out and invest him as their prince. All assented, and Yadubhān was elected king. He became a great prince, had a numerous progeny, and the place of their abode was henceforth styled Jadu Ka dang, ‘the mountains of Jadu’.”

“The precise knowledge of the topography of these regions, displayed in the Bhaṭṭi annals, is the most satisfactory proof of the authenticity. In the present day, it would be in vain to ask any native of Jessulmer the position of the “hill of Juda or the city of Behera; and for the valuable translation of Baber’s *Memoirs*, by Erskine, we should have been unable to adduce the following testimony. Baber crossed the Indus on 17th February 1519, and on the 19th between that river and one of its great towns, the Behat, they reached the very tract where the descendant of Kṛṣṇa established himself twentyfive centuries before, Baber says, “*Seven Kos (20 k.m.) from Behreh to the north there is a hill. This hill in the Zafar Namah (History of Tamur)*, and other books, is called the Hill of Jud. There were two races of men descended of the same father. One tribe is called Jud, the other Jenjuheh. From old times they have been the rulers and lords of the inhabitants of this hill, and of the Is and *Uluses* (political divisions) between Nilabha and Bhaheṛā. Their power is exerted in a friendly and brotherly way. They could not take from very remote times. The Jud is divided into various branches of families, as well as the Jenjuheh. The chief man amongst them gets the name of Rae”. (*Erskine’s Baber*, p. 254).

Here is a decided confirmation that this Hindu colony that preserved all their original manners and customs even to Baber’s day. The tribe of Jenjuhehs, beyond a doubt, is the tribe of Johya, so celebrated in the region skirting the Sutlej... As Baber says they are the same family as the Juds, they are probably the descendants of Jinj, the brother of Bhaṭṭi, who changed the family patronymic from Jadu to Bhaṭṭi; and thus it appears that when the elder branch was driven from Gajni, they retreated amongst their relations of the hills of Jud, Baber was quite enamoured with the beauty of the hill of Jud, which, its lake and valleys, he described as the miniature Kashmir-p. 255. Tod, on the basis of testimony of one Sukhadharma, Brāhmaṇa of Mathura, further writes:

“Pr̥thvibāhu, son of Nābha, prince of Marusthali inherited the insignia of Śrī Kṛṣṇa with the regal umbrella made by Viśvakramā. He had a son Bāhubala, who espoused Kamalāvati, daughter of Vijay Simha, prince of Mālava. Bāhu was killed by a fall from his horse; he left one son, Subāhu, who was poisoned by his wife, a daughter of Mund Raja Chauhan of Ajmer;

he left a son Rajah, who reigned twelve years. He was married to Subhāgya Sundari, daughter of Bir Simha, prince of Mālava. Having, when pregnant, dreamed that she was delivered of a white elephant, the astrologers, who interpreted this as an indication of greatness, desired he might be named Gaja. As he approached manhood, the coconut came from Yadubhāna, prince of the east, and was accepted. At the same time tidings arrived that from the shores of the ocean, the barbarians who had formerly attacked Subāhu, were again advancing, having Farid Shah of Khorasan at the head of four lakh of horses, from whom the people fled in dismay."

Tod is of the opinion that there is a singular mixture of historical facts, and he thinks that "the Yadu scribes confound their connections with the Syrian and Bactrian Greeks, and with the first Muslim conquerors. Imperfect as is this notice of Subāhu, his son Rijh (Rajah), and grandson Gaj who were thus assailed by Farid of Khorasan (Bacteria), and his auxiliary, the king of Rooma (Syria), we have a powerful allusion to Antiochus the Great, who, two hundred and four years before Christ, invaded Bacteria and India. Amongst the few facts left of this expedition is his treaty with Sophagasenus, the Indian monarch, in which the Syrian king stipulated for a tribute in elephants. There are, even in this medley of incidents, grounds for imagining that Sophagasenus is the Yadu prince of Gajni. Whether, out of Subāhu and Gaja, the Greeks manufactured their Sophagasenus, or whether prince Gaja could have been entitled Sobhāgasena, in compliment to his mother Sobhāgya Sundari of Mālava must be left for the speculative to decide...."³

Tod further explains: "There is at the same time much that refers to the early progress of Islam in these regions of central Asia. Price, in his history, extracting from the *Kholausut-ul-Akbar*, says, "Hejaj was entrusted with the government of Khorasan, and Abdullah with Seistan, who had orders from Hejaj, his superior to invade Kabul whose prince was Reteil or Tetpeil, whom the Author supposes either a Tatar or Hindu prince. Artfully retiring he drew the Mohamedan army into the defiles, and blocking up the rear, cut off their retreat, and Abdullah was compelled to purchase his liberation by payment of seven hundred thousand dirhems."

This was the seventy-eighth year of Hijri, or A.D. 697. Conjoined to what follows, it appears to have reference to Rajah, father of Gaja.⁴

All accounts prove that 'princes of Hindu faith ruled over all these regions in the first ages of Islamism, and made frequent attempts, for centuries after to reconquer them'. The Muslim polluted the wells and other sources of water of Gajani with the flesh of the sacred kine, and thus the Hindus were forced to give in, Subaktegin adopted this tactics to conquer the Yādava kingdom of Gajani.⁵

Relying upon Sukhadharma brāhmaṇa, Tod goes on describing the defeat of the princes of Khorasan and Rooma at the hands of Gaja, the Yādava king of Gajani on Sunday the 3rd of Baisakha, the spring season (*Basant*), the *Rohani Naksatra*, and maintained the Yādava

3. *Annals of Jessulmer*, p. 174,

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 174-75.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

race, with this victory his power became firm, he conquered all the countries to the west, and sent an ambassador to Kashmir.... invaded it and married the daughter of its prince, by whom he had a son, called Śālivāhana.⁶

When this child had attained the age of twelve, the goddess appeared and revealed to the king that Gajani would pass from his hands, but his posterity would inherit it, not as Hindus but as Muslims, and directed him to send his son Śālivāhana amongst the Hindus of the east, there to erect a city to be named after him. She said that he would have fifteen sons, whose issues would multiply: 'that he (Raja Gaja) would fall in the defence of Gajani, but would gain a glorious reward hereafter'.

Having heard his fate revealed Raja Gaja convened his family and kin, and on pretence of a pilgrimage to Jwālāmukhi (in Kangra), he caused them to depart with the prince Śālivāhana, for the east.

Soon after, Raja Gaja, along with the foe, the king of Khorasan, was slain. A hundred thousand Mīrs and thirty thousand Hindus strewn the field. The king's son invested Gajani; for thirty days it was defended by Sivadeva, uncle of Gaja, when he performed *Sākā*, and nine thousands valiant men gave up their lives.

The news reached to Śālivāhana. He collected his men and, later on, founded a city named after himself, Śālivāhanapur. The surrounding Bhomias attended, and acknowledged his supremacy. Seventy two years of the era of Vikrama had elapsed when Śālivāhanapur was founded on Sunday the 8th of the month of Bhādoon,⁷ that is the birth day of Śrī Kṛṣṇa-*Janmāṣṭami*. Śālivāhana conquered the whole region of Panjab. He had fifteen sons, who all became Rajas, namely Balund, Rasālu, Dharmangadsa, Vachu, Rupa, Sunder, Lekha, Jasakarna, Nema, Mauta, Nipaka, Gangeou, Jageou, all of whom, by the strength of their own arms, established themselves in independence.

But we find a different type of description in the *Jaisalmer Ri Khyāt* ⁸ (*Annals of Jaisalmer*). According to this, Jagabāhu, grandson of Bāhu, founded the fort of Gajani in Yudhiṣṭhira *Samvat* 3008.⁹ But this is erroneous, because Jagabāhu was the eleventh descendant (in degree). similarly according to the *khyat*:

1. Vikrama *Samvat* started in 3044 Yudhiṣṭhira *Samvata*.
2. Gaja was ruling in Hansara or Hissar in V.S.210. This Hansar or Hissar cannot be Hissar of Haryana, but is of Afghanistan. Rasanrpa was the king of Lahore. He recaptured Gajani and appointed his son Ratan Sinh as the ruler of Gajani. Śālivāhan, the son the Ratansi or Ratna Sinh, founded Syālkot (Śālivāhanpur), now in Pakistan. Ratansi was the youngest son of the king, perhaps his progeny separately developed. But the *Khyāt* tells us that in the fifteenth generation of Rasanrpa was born Sālavānha or Śālivāhana son of Gajasena, whose son was famous devotee

6. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

8. *Paramparā*, editor, Narain Singh Bhati, Jodhpur, 1981, Vol. 57-58. The compiler of this *Khyat* was, perhaps, Mehta Ajit Singh.

9. *Khyāt*, pp. 21-22.

Pūraṇamala.¹⁰ The time of Śālivāhana has been given V.S. 251-291 (A.D.194-234). This requires further research. This Śālivāhana was not who started the *Sākā* of Śālivāhana or śaka era.

According to the *Khyāt*, in the 78th generation was Raja Śūrasena, whose descendants were Udayasena, Mandarao, Nainarao and Punjasena. Mandarao's descendants became Mewatis¹¹ or Mewa. The descendants of Pālasena, the second son of Udayasena became Jāṭas and came to be known as Sanasanawala Jāṭas.¹² Bhagawansen was in 85th generation and his second son was Subhasen, whose descendants became Ahirs.¹³ This study clearly shows that the progeny of the same person could adopt any caste of his choice. Was it an indicator of profession? Perhaps Jāṭas were cultivators, whereas the Ahirs were cowherds.

In 124th generation, Lahore's ruler became Jagamal, whose fourth son was Khangasi or Khanga Sinha. His descendants became Jāṭas, who are settled in Punjab.¹⁴ He recaptured Gajani and appointed his younger brother Ratansi the ruler of Gajani. His son was Śālivāhan who founded Śālivāhanpur.¹⁵ In 136th generation was born Hansapata, a famous ruler, who founded the fort of Hissar. It seems that Hissar became the capital of this dynasty from that time. He caused to plant a garden in the year two, *Kātika Sudi 2*. Perhaps this was the Vikrama era's second year, because, Divākara, the successor of Hansapata, sat on throne at Hissar in *Vikrama Samvata* 46, as revealed by this *Khyāt*. Divakara's son Bhāramala in V.S.71, his son Khumāna in V.S.95, his son Arjuna in V.S.126, became the rulers of Hissar. The year of succession of Juhasena or Yudhasena, son of Arjuna, is not given. It may mean that he lost his throne as it is revealed that Gajasena¹⁶ sat on throne of Hissar, after winning a war in V.S.210. Again, we find one more Śālivāhana, who was the son of Gajasena, who became the ruler of Gajani in *V. Samvata* 251. He was a very famous, powerful and able ruler. He ruled for 58 years 9 months and 1 day.¹⁷ According to myths and legends, *Bhakta* Pūraṇamala is said to be the grandson of this king. The name of this king is given Raja Rasāloo, which is supposed to be variant of Śālivāhana, which may not be correct.

A brief history of the *Asthal Bohar Math* (district Rohtak, Haryana State)¹⁸ reveals that *Mahasiddha* Sri Chauranginath was none else but *Bhakta* Pūraṇamala.¹⁹ He was the son of the senior queen Inchārāde, wife of king Śālivāhana of Silakot. Pūraṇa's step mother Nūṇāde, was attracted (infatuated) to his charming youthhood. She insisted upon Pūrṇa for

10. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 23

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, p. 24

14. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

18. Sankar Nath Yogi (Hindi translation by Kokchandra Shastri), *Asthal Bohar Math Ka Sanskrit Itihas*, Rohtak, V.S. 2027,

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 2 ff.

copulation, but the latter reminded her of her duties as a mother. She complained to the king and got Pūrṇa punished. The king ordered the butchers to take Pūrṇa to jungle and throw him in a well chopping off his hands and legs, which the butchers did. Pūrṇa remained in this condition in the waterless well till *Mahāsiddha Guru Matsyendra Nāth* came there. He pulled Pūrṇa out and the latter got his hands and legs back with the grace of the Guru.

There is a well, 8 km from Sialkot, which is still known as "the well of Pūrṇa *Bhakta*". There is one village there, called 'Pūrṇawala'. The period of Raja Rasalu, step brother Pūrṇa is supposed to be end of 7th century or the beginning of 8th century. Mohmad Bin Kasim made a treaty with king Rasalu at the time of his attack on Sindh. According to the research of Dr. Temple, the Siddhus (Sindhu or Sandhar) and Sansi or Sansiwalas of Haryana conjoin themselves with Raja Rasalu.²⁰ They also relate themselves with Raja Jaisal, founder of Jaisalmer.²¹ The former *Phulkian* State rulers, who call themselves Siddhu Jats, conjoin themselves with the Bhaṭṭi Yādava rulers of Jaisalmer. *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhupindra Singh was called '*Bhaṭṭikula Bhūṣaṇa*,' and '*Yadukula Avtansa*.' These facts prove that the origin of many Jat families is from the *Yādavavamsa*.

He was succeeded by Balada or Balanda, who became the ruler of Hissar in V.S.291, he had two sons Bhaṭṭi and Sami. The descendants of Sami became famous as Jādea, they killed Padihāras or Parihāras and came to be known as Jāmma or Jāma. They founded a city, named Sānmera, in Sindh. Abhayaraja founded the city of Abhayagadha, perhaps in V.S.347. His descendants came to be known as Abhorja Bhāṭṭis. Whether Abohar, in Panjab, is after their name or they were known after the name of this city requires further research. Perhaps Asthala Bohar in district Rohtak also takes its name after it is also associated with *Bhakta* Pūrṇamala, son of the Bhaṭṭi Yādavas. Some of the Yādavas accepted Islam after wars. Khemakarṇa's descendants became Chakta or Chughtai Muslims. The descendants of the seventh son, Sahara, were called Saharava bhāṭṭi. The descendants of the eighth son Jeha, became known as Jeha Bhāṭṭi, Bhesadecha Bhaṭṭi of ninth son Bhesadecha and Jiya Bhaṭṭi of Jiya, the ninth and tenth sons.

Raja Bhāṭṭi became the ruler of Lahore in V.S.336. He was a famous king, he founded the city and fort of Bhatner in V.S.342 (A.D. 284-85). Earlier they were called Jādamas, now on they became known as Bhāṭi or Bhaṭṭis. Same-Sama-Samma founded Samavahana city and got the title of Jama (*Yama*). Lākhā Phūlani was a glorious ruler of this *vamsa*, who became the ruler of Keledot in Samvat 901.

Bhaṭṭi's son Bhūpat began to rule from Bhatner. King Khemakarṇa's son Narapat became the ruler of Lahore in V.S. 492, after which the capital of this dynasty became Lahore. Khemakarṇa's younger son Vaju, forcibly occupied the throne of Lahore. The elder son Gaju also made preparations for civil war, but they made peace on the good advice of the courtiers. On one side was put the *Chhatra* (Umbrella), and on the other *dharati* (land). The elder Gaju opted for *Chhatra* and Bajju for land. When Gaju was to depart, all begin to

20. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

21. Graffin, Lepel H., *The Rajas of the Panjab*, Patiala (reprint), 1970, p. 2.

go with him and said, "we are faithful to *Chhatra* (umbrella), and not to land". Gaju, perhaps, got the throne of Lahore with the aid of the ruler of Balakha. He became the ruler of Gajani and Lahore. Bajju kept Hissar and Bhatner (V.S.522). Gajani, Lahore, Hissar, Bhatner, it seems, all were under the rule of the Yādavas. When some of the Bhaṭṭi clans became proselytes to Islam, they changed the vowel *a* to *u*, to distinguish them from the parent stock, namely, Bhaṭṭi for Bhutṭi, or Bhutṭoo in the long run. Zulfikar Ali Bhutṭoo, the late Prime Minister of Pakistan belonged to this very clan. Their original abode is said to be Bhatnair. In 1397 A.D., when Timur invaded India, Bhatnair was attacked for "having distressed him exceedingly join his invasion of Multan" when he "in person covered the country, and cut off a tribe of banditti called Jits." In short, the Bhuttis and Jits were so intermingled that distinction was impossible. (Tod, Part II, pp.164, 165).

He further writes: 'It was shortly after Timoor's invasion, that a colony of Bhattis migrated from Maroth and Phoolra, under their leader Bersi, and assaulted and captured Bhatnair from Mohmedan chief, but whether one of Timoor's officers, or a dependent of Delhi, remains unknown, though most probably of the former. His name, Chigat Khan, almost renders this certain, and they must have made a proper name out of his tribe, Chagitai, of which he was a noble. This Khan had conquered Bhatnair from the Jits and had acquired a considerable territory, which the Bhaṭṭi colony took advantage of his return to invade and conquer. Sixteen generations have intervened since this event, which bringing it the period of Timoors' invasion.

Bersi ruled twenty-seven years, and was succeeded by his son Bhiroo, when the sons of Chigat Khan, obtaining aid from the Delhi monarch invaded Bhatnair, and were twice repulsed with great loss. A third army succeeded, Bhatnair was invaded and reduced to great straits, when Bhiroo hung out a flag of truce, and offered to accept any conditions which not compromise his castle. Two were named to embrace Islam, or seal his sincerity by giving his daughter to the king. He accepted the first alternative, and from that day, in order to distinguish proselytes, they changed the name of Bhaṭṭi to Bhutti or Bhutto'.

Tod has a different story to tell. Balunda, the son of Śālīvāhan was married to the daughter of Raja Jaipala Tuar or Tomar of Delhi. On his return with his bride, Śālīvāhan determined to redeem Gajani from the foe and avenge his father's death. He crossed the Attak to encounter Jallal, who advanced at the head of twenty thousand men. Crowned with victory, he regained possession of Gajani, where he left Balund and returned to his capital in Panjab, he soon after died, having ruled thirty-three years and nine months.

Balund succeeded. His brothers had now established themselves in all the mountainous tracts of Panjab. But the Turks (the Turṣkas of the Purāṇas) began rapidly to increase and to subjugate all beneath their sway, and the lands around Gajani were again in their power. Balund had no minister, superintended in person all the details of his government. He had seven sons Bhaṭṭi, Bhupati, Kullar, Jing, Surmor, Bhynsrecha, Mangreo. Bhupati had a son, Chakita, from whom is descended the Chakito (Chagitai) tribe.²² Tod is of the view that all

22. Tod, *op.cit.*, p. 178.

these tribes of Central Asia, whether termed Indo Scythic or Tatar prior to Islamism professed a faith which may be termed Hinduism.²³ Chakito had eight sons, namely, Deosi, Bharoo, Khemkhan, Nahar, Jaipata,²⁴ Dharsi, Bijali Khan, Shah Samund.

As it is evident the period has reference to the very first years of Islamism. Balunda, who resided at Salbahanpur, left Gajani to the charge of his grandson Chakito, and as the power of the barbarians (*Mleccha*) increased, he not only entertained troops of that race, but all his nobles were of the same body. They offered, if he would quit the religion of his fathers, to make him master of Balakh Bokhara where dwelt the Ozbek race, whose king had no offspring but one daughter. Chakitomarrried her, and became king of Balakh Bokhara, and lord of twenty-eight thousand horses. He was king of all from the gate of Balkshan to the face of Hindustan, and from him descended the tribes of Chakito Moghals.²⁵ But Tod finds himself confused when he does not find an answer to the problem that the name of the father of Chagtai was Temugin or Temur, better known by his *nomme de guerre*, Jungeez, according to the Mohmadan historians, is termed an infidel, and so was Takasa, the father of Mohomed of Khwarezm, the one was the getie or yuti race, the other, as his name discloses, of the Taka or Taksaka, the two grand races of Central Asia. The insertion of this pedigree, according to Tod, in this place completely vitiates chronology yet for what purpose it could have been interpolated, if not founded on some fact, he cannot surmise.²⁶

We find an interesting reference by Denzil Ibbetson in the *Punjab Castes*²⁷ as under (in 1881):

"*The Jadun*: The Jadun or Gadun, as they are called indifferently, have returned themselves as Pathans to the number of 17,256, of whom 16,962 are in Hazara and 279 in Rawalpindi. They claim descent from Sarhanga, a great grandson of Ghurghust, two of whose sons fled, they say, because of a blood feud to the mountains of Chach and Hazara. It is, however, almost certain that the Jadun are of Indian origin and it has been suggested that in their name is preserved the name of Jadu or Yadu, the founder of the Rajput *Yaduvansi* dynasty, many of whose descendants migrated from Gujarat some, 100 years before Christ, and were afterwards found in the hills of Kabul and Kandhar. They occupy all the south-eastern portion of the territory between the Peshawar and Hazara borders, and the southern slopes of Mahaban, and when Jahangir finally crushed the Dilazak, they spread up the Dor Valley as high as Abbottabad. Early in the 18th century, on the expulsion of the Karlāgh Turks by Saiyad Jala Baba they appropriated the country about Dhamtaur, and about a hundred years later they took the Bagar tract from the few remaining Dilazak who held it, while shortly before the Sikhs took the country their Hassazai clan deprived the Karrāl of a portion of the Nilān Valley. They are dividved into three main clans, Salar, Mansur and Hassazai, of which the last is not represented among the trans-Indus Jadun and has lost all

23. *Ibid.*, fn 3.

24. He was the prince of Khwarezm. *Ibid.*, fn 25. See also, Prices' *Mohmedan History*.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

26. *Ibid.*, f.n. 5.

27. Ibbetson, Denzil, *Panjab Castes*, Language Dept, (Reprint), 1970, p. 95.

connection with the parent tribe, having even forgotten its old *Pashto* language. Dr. Bellew makes them a Gakkhar clan, but this appears to be incorrect. The true Pathans of Hazara call them Mlātār or mercenaries, from the *pashto* equivalent for Lakhan or 'one who girds his loins'. The Jadun clans returned in our tables are as under

Hassazai	. 6,421
Salar	... 2,876
Mansur 3,718

Denzil Ibbetson writes²⁸ further; "*The Naipal*: The Naipals are a clan of the great Bhaṭṭi tribe, who are found on the Satluj above Ferozpur. They once held the river valley as far down as that town, but were driven higher by Dogars, and in their turn expelled the Gujars. Brandreth says of them:

"They resemble very much in their habits the Dogars and Gujars, and are probably greater thieves than either. They appear almost independent under the Ahluwalia rulers, and to have paid a small rent in kind only when the kardar was strong enough to compel them to it, which was not often the case. They have lost more of their Hindu origin than either the Dogars or Gujars, and in their marriage connections they follow the Mohamedan law, near blood relations being permitted to enter into the marriage compact. All the Naipal have returned themselves as Bhaṭṭi as well, and it is impossible that many of the them have shown Bhaṭṭi only as their tribe, and are therefore, not returned under the head Naipal".

Of course, Bhaṭṭis are Rajputs, as well as Jats, Gujars and other backward castes. But Bhaṭṭi Rajputs are descendants of the Jadam or Yadav Rajputs. Their number was, in Census of 1881, in Panjab

British territory 204,569
Native States 38,262

Describing the 'Rajput Tribes of the Eastern Plains of the then Panjab', Ibbetson further writes:²⁹ "The Jadu or *Jadubansi* are of Lunar race, and are called by Tod 'the most illustrious of all the tribe of Ind.' But the name has been almost overshadowed by Bhaṭṭi, the title of their dominant branch in modern times..."

Kullar, third son of Balund, had eight sons, whose descendants are designated Kullar or Kaler. There are: Seodas, Ramdas, Asso, Kisna, Samoh, Gango, Jesso, Bhago; almost all of whom became Muslims.³⁰ They are a numerous race, inhabiting the mountainous countries west of Indus, and notorious robbers.³¹ "The fifteen brothers of Balund established themselves in the mountainous parts of Panjab, and his sons inherited west of the Indus areas. The

28. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

30. Tod, p. 178.

31. *Ibid.*

Afghan tribes, whose supposed genealogy from the Jews has excited so much curiosity, and who now inhabit the regions conquered by the sons of Salivahana, are possibly Yādavas, who, on conversion, to give more eclat to their antiquity, converted Yadu into Yahudi or Jewe, and added the rest of the story from the Koran. That grand division of Afghans called Euzofzye, or sons of Joseph', whose original country was Kabul or Gajani, yet retain the name of Jadoon (vulgar of Yadu) as one of their principal sub-divisions, and they still occupy a position in the hilly region east of the Indus, conquered by the sons of Balund. It would be a curious fact could be proved the Afghans not Yahudis but³² Yādus.

Jinja, the fourth son, had seven sons: Champo, Gokal, Mahraj, Hansa, chadun, Rasso, Juggo, all whose issue bore the name of Jinja, and in like manner did the other sons become the patriarchs of tribes.

Bhaṭṭi succeeded his father Balund. He conquered fourteen princes, and added their fortunes to his own. Among his effects he reckoned four thousand mules laden with treasure, sixty thousand horse, and innumerable foot. As soon as he mounted the *gaddi*, he assembled all his forces at Lahore to conquer Birbhan Bhagel, lord of Kanakpur. Birbhan fell in the battle which ensued, at the head of forty thousand men.

Bhaṭṭi had two sons, Mangal Rao and Masur Rao. With Bhaṭṭi the patronymic was changed from Jadam to Bhaṭṭi, distinguished by his name".

CHAPTER EIGHT

EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION

Then began the foreign attacks. Almost all the kingdoms of the Yādavas of north and north west were a prey to this. Raja Gaja became a martyr in Gajani, Lomanarao in Lahore, king Mūlaraja died in Mathurā and Rājā Manjhu sacrificed his life in Hissar. Rājā Jagaswap Mandanota died fighting in Bhatner. Hundreds of thousand people died fighting. The Bhaṭṭis lost their kingdom of Panjab in v. *samvat* 535 (A.D. 477-78). Some of the surviving Bhaṭṭis adopted common occupations, such as, cultivation, business and trade, etc., others wandered from pillar to post.

In the third generation Rao Mangal founded the city of Mumanavah and became ruler in v. *samvat* 576. Maṇḍayarao became the ruler of Maroṭha in v.s. 616. He founded the fort of Maroṭha on the Hākarā river in the territory of the ruler of Pungala. It means, Maṇḍayarao was just a feudal chieftain. Maroṭha had been the capital upto v. *samvat* 861. Next year Tanurāo became the ruler of Tanavata. His third son Sārana's descendants were called Sarana Jats; fifth son Kumbho's descendants became Gujars, while the descendants of the sixth son, Kullara or Kulario, were also called Gujars. The descendants of seventh and eighth also became Mudh and Bija Jats, descendants of the ninth son, Ulrāja, became Maheswari mahājanas—a well known trading community of India, and the sons of the tenth son, Dāgā, were called Dāgā Maheswaries. This is an interesting information which shows the change and formation of castes in India, and it seems that in the early medieval period either some castes denoted the professions or occupations one adopted or the change of caste was a matter of choice.

Vijayarāja started expansion of his authority. He had a boon of *Devi*. In India, miracles do happen. He achieved conquests in 22 battles against some kings of Iran or Khurasan, the Jhālās, Vārahas etc. Consequently he occupied Tannot, Maroth, Kirohar, Bhaṭnair, Mumana-vah and Binjhanota forts. His increasing influence could not be tolerated by the Jhālās, Panwārs, Varāhas, etc., so they combined together against him to suppress the Bhaṭṭis. A coconut was sent to Vijayarāja on behalf of the Vārahas of Biṭhoḍā. He accepted this for betrothal of his five-year old son, Devarāja. He reached Biṭhoḍā with the bride-groom's party of his son. On the second day, after the completion of the marriage ceremony, the Varāhas attacked the Bhaṭṭis suddenly. Vijayarāja, along with many Bhaṭṭis, was killed.

In the stampede, a Raibāri took away Devarāja on a fast running she-camel. On the way a Devāyat *purohit* was working with his family on the fields. The Raibāri apprised him of

the situation. The Jhālās and Panwārs came chasing them. The *purohit* told them that Devarāja was his son. To remove their doubt they asked him to dine with Devarāja, and the *purohit* made his son, Ratanu to take food with Devarāja. On being satisfied, the Varāhas returned. Brāhmaṇs excommunicated Ratanu on this account, later on he became a *Chāraṇa* (bard) of the Bhaṭṭis.

After sometime, Devarāja began to live secretly with his mother in her father's place. On coming to age of Hurad, her mother, Khāya, was worried. She came to know that Devarāja was alive. She sent for him on the word of protecting his life, and kept him secretly in her house. When Hurad became pregnant, her mother revealed the mystery to her husband. Devarāja did not like to stay for a long time in his father-in-law's house. he returned to his maternal uncle and served him well, who in return asked him to have some gift of his choice. He asked for some land to live on, though the *Sāmants* opposed it, but his maternal uncle allowed him to occupy some land.

Devarāja built a big fort there and amassed wealth. A feud began with Bhuttos (maternal uncle). With the help of Lākhā, the ruler of Kelekota, he not only defeated Bhuttos, but started a campaign of revenge against the Varāhas also, but his wife used to unreveal all his plans to her father. When Devarāja came to know this, he killed his wife. After that, with full preparations, he attacked Bithoḍā, the state of Varāhas and they were killed. Thus he avenged the death of his father.

Defeating the Varāhas, Devarāja occupied a large tract of area. He also got sufficient area of Sindh and Māḍa. He also conquered Lodrava from Panwārs with treachery.¹ With this he became the ruler of the whole area which was under Lodrava. At the same time he had a struggle with the Panwārs of Dhāra, the latter paid huge fine and made treaty with Devarāja.² The Bhaṭṭi power was at the height of its zenith at that time.

In old age, Devarāja once went out for hunting where he clashed with the Channa Rajputs. In this, Devarāja, along with his 140 attendants, was killed.³ Devarāja was the first glorious king, who, with the strength of his arm, not only conquered his hereditary state, but also expanded Bhaṭṭi authority sufficiently. He organised a large army, and increased the fame of his dynasty by the efficient leadership in the battlefield and achievements thereof. He was a very liberal and successful ruler. He was the real founder of the Bhaṭṭi power.

After the death of Maharawal, his son Mandha or Mundha became the ruler in v.s. 1030. He waged a war against the Channa Balochs who were the killers of his father. Killing 1800 enemies, Mandha revenged the death of his father.⁴ His son Wachhu succeeded him after his death. Dusāja, his son, along with his brothers attacked on Ghaji Khan Baloch of Thatta, and killing him brought his horses. They made successful campaigns against the Jaitungs of Bikampur, Khokhars and Johias, and made expansion of their territory.

1. *Muhato Nainsi Ri Khyat*, Vol.II, pp. 270-72.

2. See, for details, Mangilal Mayank's *Jaisalmer Rajya Ka Itihas*, pp. 30-31.

3. *Khyat*, op.cit, p. 41.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

Dusaja became the ruler of Lodrawa in v.s. 1115. He defeated and killed Sodha Hamir and his 700 men.⁵ Dusaja did not want to make his eldest son Jaisal his successor when he announced his younger son, Vijayarāja, successor, Jaisal became angry and went to join hands with Shahbuddin Ghorī in Nagar Thatta.⁶

Vijayarāja became the ruler in v.s. 1179.⁷ Three inscriptions relating to Vijayarāja have been found in Jaisalmer region which relate to *Bhattika Samvata* 541, 543 and 552 (v.s. 1222, 1224 and 1233 or A.D. 1165, 1167 and 1176). First inscription describes him as '*Parama Bhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Vijayarāja'.⁸ Second inscription mentions only 'Mahārāja' as his title, and similarly third mentions the founding of some idol by the chief queen of 'Mahārāja Vijayarāja'. According to Dasarath Sharma,⁹ these relate to Maharawal Vijayarāja 'Lānjā'. He was very generous in giving donations, and on this account he was called Lānjā'. According to Muhato Nainsi, "Vijayarāja was married in the Pawars of Abu. When his mother-in-law made an ornamental mark on his forehead, she said "dear son-in-law, do thou become the portal of the North, the barrier between us and the king whose power is becoming strong". This finds mention in the *Khyat* (p. 44), *Tawarikhe Jaisalmer* (p. 27) and *Tod-Rajasthan* (p. 492).

The Bhattis, from the very beginning, had been facing the Muslim invaders. The newly founded Bhatti kingdom in Māḍa Pradesh was on the way of these Muslim invaders. Therefore, it seems that the mother-in-law of Vijayarāja, keeping in view the glorious traditions of his ancestors, had blessed him saying 'to be the defender of the North. But Vijayarāja did not get any opportunity to justify this title against Muslim invasions, his son, Bhojadeva, got this opportunity.

The title of '*Parama Bhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara*' used in the inscription of Bhattik Samvat 541 (v.s. 1222, A.D. 1165) compel us to accept him a glorious ruler. His contemporary rulers were – Vighararāja IV, Amar Gangeya, Prithviraja II and Someśvara (all the Chauhan rulers of Sambhar-Ajmer), Vijayacandra and Govinda Candra of Kanauj, Parmardin of Mahoba, Ajaypal and Kumarpala of Gujarat, Kelhan of Nadole and Dhārāvārṣa of Abu.¹⁰ His relation with these rulers is not known, but it can well be surmised that he was in no way of lesser prestige than of any one of these rulers.¹¹

According to the *Jaisalmer Ri Khyat*, Vijayarāja became the ruler in v.s. 1179, but according to some historians his regnal period was between v.s. 1222 to 1233 (A.D. 1165 – 1176).¹² According to traditional records the date of founding the Jaisalmer fort is v.s. 1212 (A.D. 1155).¹³ According to these records, the fort was built by Jaisal, who became ruler after

5. *Tawarikha*, op.cit, p. 25, *Tod*, op.cit, p. 491.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 27, *Tod*, *ibid.*, p. 422.

7. *Ibid.*, *Khyat*, p. 45.

8. *Rajasthan through the Ages*, p. 286, fn.2.

9. Sharma, Dasarath, *Ibid.*, pp. 280-86, *IHQ*, his article 'Some dates in the Bhattika Era and its connected problems', Vol. 35, pp. 227-39.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 285-86.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 283.

12. Mayank, Mangilal, op.cit., p. 37.

13. *Khyat*, p. 47.

Vijayarāja's son Bhojadeva. The reign of Vijayarāja remained, according to the last available inscription, up to v.s. 1233. After him, when Bhojadeva succeeded him, then Jaisal, the elder brother of Vijayarāja 'Lānjā', defeated and killed Bhoja with the help of Muhmad Ghorī and occupied Lodrava. The first expedition of Muhmad Ghorī against the Chālukyas of Gujarat took place in V.S. 1235 (A.D. 1178). Therefore, there is synchronism with the date of death of Bhoja and Jaisal's succession to the throne of Lodrava. Thus the date of founding the fort of Jaisalmer should be after v.s. 1234 instead of v.s. 1212.¹⁴

The most important achievement of the reign of Jaisal is construction of the fort and founding of the city of Jaisalmer.¹⁵ He also defeated the Channa Balochs. He sufficiently expanded his territories. According to the *Khyat* (p. 47), Jaisalmer, Deravar, Tanavat, Vinkupur, Rohri, Bhakhar, Dhotadu, Khavad, Maroth, Satal, Nohar, Chauhatana, Pungal, Badhmer, Nachani and Junagadh forts were the parts of Jaisal's kingdom.

According to the historians, "The Bhaṭṭis, under the leadership of Rao Kehar, had entered the Māḍa region with a goal, for its achievement they constantly and continuously struggled and at last they succeeded in establishing their kingdom in the Māḍa region by the time Jaisal became the ruler. The fort of Jaisalmer, which was founded by Raval Jaisal, had been under the reign of his scions for about eight centuries. In this way, the period from Rao Kehar to Jaisal, had been the period of founding the Bhaṭṭi kingdom. In this period, the Bhaṭṭis did not just establish their kingdom, but they also got a glorious position among the contemporary Rajput royal dynasties. The rulers of this age got constructed many forts of strategic importance to consolidate their reign. With this, they also got constructed many tanks and wells of permanent public welfare.¹⁶ Really it was an age of establishing Yādava power in the North-West Rajasthan and protecting it from foreign invasions.

Jaisal passed away after five years of starting the construction of the fort which remained incomplete, and was completed in the time of his successor Maharawal Śālivāhan¹⁷ who succeeded on 3rd of 1st half of Bhādu, V.S. 1224 (*Khyat*, p. 48), or in V.S. 1240 (A.D. 1183) according to other sources. His military successes have been exaggerated by the local sources; so much so that he has been described as a conqueror of Jharkhand, Mewar, Gurjar, Bagad, Khed, Parkar, Maru region, Arbud Mandal, Setubandh Ramesvar, etc.¹⁸ Tod¹⁹ describes one independent State on the hills of Badrinath, which was founded by the scions of Śālivāhan I. The ruler of Badrinath, who was a contemporary of Śālivāhan II, died issueless. The *Sāmants* of that kingdom wanted only a *Yādavavamsi* to be its ruler. Śālivāhan sent his son, Hāssu, to Badrinath, but Hāssu breathed his last on reaching there. His queen was pregnant at that time. She gave birth to a son under the 'Palash' tree (*butea fondosa*), by which his descendants became famous as 'Palasiya Bhaṭṭis'. It shows the spread of Bhaṭṭis

14. Mayank, Mangilal, *op.cit.*, p. 38.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

17. Sharma, Dasrath, *op.cit.*, p. 287.

18. Muhato Nainsi, vol. II, p. 281.

19. Tod, *op.cit.*, pp. 496-97; *Khyat*, p. 48.

and their rule. It also shows the confidence of the people of far Himalayas that only Yādava-Bhaṭṭis were suitable to rule.

Śālivāhan killed Jagbhan of Kathis and plundered a huge amount of them (*Khyat*, 20). Bijala, his son, occupied Jaisalmer in his absence. Śālivāhan took refuge in the fort of Deravar in Khadal Pradesh.²⁰ Here a clash took place between him and Khijar Khan, the Baloch, in which the former died, and the latter was wounded (*Khyat*, 48). He died, according to the *Khyat*, on 5th or 14th of second half of Bhādu, v.s. 1246; and reigned for 22 years. According to another historian, he died in v.s. 1262 (A.D. 1205).²¹

Maharawal Kelhan or Kalan: After the death of Śālivāhan and Bijala, the feudal chieftains made Kalan, the elder brother of Śālivāhan, the ruler. The *Khyat* and *Twarikh* differ regarding dates. To revenge the death of Śālivāhan, he attacked Khijar Khan Baloch, and killed him (*Khyat*, 49). He ruled according to the *Khyat*, for 18 years, 3 months and 7 days.

After the demise of Kelhan, his elder son, Chachagdeva became the king in about V.S. 1280 (A.D. 1223). According to the *Khyat* this was in V.S. 1264. Collecting a big army, Chachagdeva attacked the Channa Rajputs. He got conquest along with the huge quantity of money and cattle. The Channas were compelled to leave original abode and to take refuge in the country of Johias. After it he attacked on the Sodhas and defeated them, vanquishing the Rana of Amarkot, destroyed the fort and took away the bricks of it. The Rawal of that place married his daughter with Chachagdeva (*Khyat*, 50). He invaded the Rathores to suppress them, who also gave their daughter in return of peace. He ruled for 32 years and 10 days. His only son, Tejrao had died in his life time. Tejrao and two sons—Jaitsi and Karan. Chachag favoured his younger grandson and declared him his successor, Jaitsi got angry and left for Gujarat. Rawal Karan punished the Muslim ruler of Nagore for his tyranny by killing him and plundering Nagore (*Khyat*, 50). He ruled for 28 years, 5 months and 20 days. His reign, according to the *Khyat*, was from V.S. 1299 to 1327; but the *Kharataragaccha Vrhada Gurvavali*²² informs us of his being alive in v.s. 1340 (A.D. 1283).

According to the *Khyat*,²³ Lakhan Sen succeeded Rawal Karan in v.s. 1327 (A.D. 1271) as the king of Jaisalmer. But Mayank²⁴ on the basis of the *Kharataragaccha*, informs us that Jaitra Singh I, the elder son of Karan, ruled for 16-17 years and only after him Lakhan Sen became the king. Mangilal describes him as the son of Jaitra Singh I. Removing him, the chieftains made Jaitsi, grandson of Chachag, the ruler. After that the history of the State took a new turn.

Rawal Jaitsi or Jaitsingh, according to the *Khyat*, became ruler in v.s. 1332. He reorganised the Bhaṭṭi power and increasing the glory of the dynasty, followed the glorious traditions of the Rajputs. The Rajasthan historians have described the Bhaṭṭi-Sultanate relations of this period, in which they have mentioned the invasion of Allauddin on Jaisalmer,

20. Gehlot, Jagdish Singh, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 660.

21. Muhato Nainsi, Vol. II, p. 280.

22. *Kharatara*, p. 38.

23. *Op.cit.*, p. 51.

24. *Jaisalmer Ka Itihas*, *op.cit.*, p. 48.

his conquest and the self-sacrifice by the Bhaṭṭis. The *Khyat* does not give any such information, albeit there is description of 'Sākā' (heroic sacrifice) in the time of his son, Mularaja (p. 53). On the basis of the *Tarikh-i-Masoomi* (p. 44). Ashok Srivastav²⁵ informs us that the first invasion of Khilji on Jaisalmer took place in A.D. 1299 (v.s. 1356). Allauddin Khilji had invaded Gujarat in this year. Therefore the Khilji forces might have attacked Jaisalmer on their way to Gujarat.

The *Khyat* informs us that 550 mules laden with gold mohurs were going to Thatta from Multan, which were plundered by the Bhaṭṭis. This angered Sultan to send an army against Jaisalmer. Nawab Mehboob Khan invaded from the side of Delhi and Nawab Farid Khan came from the side of Multan. Nainsi has given the name of the Commander-in-Chief as Kamaldin or Kamaluddin Gurg. The fort of Jaisalmer was surrounded and it remained under the seize for two or three years without any result. On this the Sultan doubted the integrity of the commander. He despatched Malik Kafur and Malik Kesar with a huge army to attack Jaisalmer. Malik Kafur wanted to attack the fort straightway, but Kamaluddin advised to continue the seize so that on the consumption of the provisions would be easy to conquer the fort. But Malik Kafur made a direct onslaught. He reached the main gate of the fort and employed fifteen elephants to break the door. Mularaja had directed his soldiers not to attack the enemy till it touched the turret and the bugle was sounded. With the sound of the bugle, the Yādava soldiers attacked the enemy at once. The enemy was taken aback with this sudden and unexpected attack and took to their heels. All the fifteen elephants were killed. Malik Kesar and Sirajuddin were killed and Malik Kafur was defeated and ran away from the battle field.²⁶

After this defeat, the Sultan appointed Kamaluddin again to attack the fort of Jaisalmer. The seize continued for a long time—12 years, according to the *Khyat* (p.53). Rawal Jaitsi breathed his last during this period, and Duda left the fort under the pressure of his brothers and went to his in-laws in Parakar. The condition of the fort was deteriorating day by day. The provisions were coming to an end. Therefore, in order to protect the dynasty, he handed over Ghadsi, Lakhamana, Bhaṭṭi Chanan De and Unad to Kamaluddin, who gave word to protect their lives, Mularaja along with 120 followers, made 'Sākā' and died a heroic death. The fort was occupied by the forces of Sultan (*Khyat*, 54).

What a surprising tradition! Handing over one's sons to the enemy, but die in the battle field fighting. This tells us about the wonderful medieval enmity and relationship with the enemy. The brave Yādavas preferred to die fighting in a battle field instead of surrendering before the enemy. Mularaja sacrificed himself for the motherland.²⁷ Ramballabh Somani has shown, on the basis of an inscription found at Kundipur near Sarojgad in V.S. 1370 and translated by Tod, that Allauddin had conquered Jaisalmer before V.S. 1370 (A.D. 1313).

25. *Khilji-Sultanate*, p. 121.

26. Muhato Nainsi, *op.cit.*, pp. 291-94.

27. For details, see, IHQ, XXV, p. 231; Varadā, 21-1, pp. 30—32, *Rajasthan Through the Ages; History of Jaisalmer* (Hindi) by Mangilal Mayank, etc.

On this basis, he supports the data V.S. 1365 (A.D. 1308) decided by Dasarath Sharma.²⁸ But according to Brijbhanu Sharma,²⁹ the fort of Jaisalmer was occupied by the forces of Khilji in Bhattik Samvat 691 (V.S. 1371 of 11th of 1st half of Pausa). Accordingly, it is concluded that the seize of fort remained at least for 6 years³⁰ and Rawal Jaitrasinha died during this seize. According to Tod, the *Sākā* took place in S. 1351, or A.D.1295.³¹

Rawal Duda: He was the grandson of the second son Palhana of Rawal Kalhana and son of Jasahar. In the time of Jaitsi, the sons of Jasahar drove away chief Vikrama Singh on a complaint against him. Jasaharat Askarna, after becoming chief incited Mularaja and Ratansi to act against Allauddin, when the Sultan seized the fort, Vikram Singh, inspired by patriotism, returned to fort to defend it. As the complaint was false against him, so he again received the old respect and status. Jasaharats left the fort. Duda started living in his father-in-laws house in Parakar. When the fort came under the occupation of the Sultan, Duda and Tiloksi began to loot government supply and property and harass the rulers. They prevented the messages coming from Delhi to reach in the fort. Being annoyed of it, the enemy deserted the fort (*Khyat*, p. 54). Jagmal, son of Rathod Rawal Mallinath heard this news. He was the ruler of Mahave. In order to occupy the fort he sent 300 vehicles ladden with arms and ammunition and made preparations to reach Jaisalmer. In the meantime Ratanu Charan (Bard) Asarao informed Duda also and the latter, with the help of his brother Tilokasi, occupied the fort of Jaisalmer. According to the *Khyat* (p. 55) he became ruler in V.S. 1357.

According to the *Khyat*, Duda told Tiloksi that he deserted the fort at the time of *Sākā* and he could not perform *Sākā* of Ksatrias, they should do it now, "We should do some such act which may irritate the emperor and result in a feud against him". According to the *Khyat* of Muhato Nainsi (Part II, p. 300), Duda stayed in the fort and Tiloksi looted Kangra and brought many mares in loot, brought a herd of buffaloes along with a churning gadget, of Baheli Gujar of Lahore area. He looted a caravan of horses being brought for the emperor. These were some major bad acts, there were many more minor ones. Duda according to the *Khyat* (p. 55) killing Kangad Pathan, looted 700 mares from the pargana of Thaṭṭa. Then Tiloksi brought 5000 cows of Gujars of Ajmer in loot. Then he looted the area of Rewari. Then too the king did not invade. The king had come to Ajmer to pay obsecration to the Khwaja. Tiloksi took away 100 horses of the emperor and told the sentaries to tell their master that Tiloksi of Jaisalmer took away the horses, "take back if you have any courage". The emperor ordered to invade. The Nawab of Lucknow marched with a force of three lacs. Duda was seized in the fort by the imperial forces in V.S. 1362, and it continued for six and a half years. The *Sākā* (war of suicide) took place in V.S. 1368. Duda and Tiloksi along with 5500 soldiers sacrificed their lives, 80 thousand imperial soldiers died. Asoka Kumar Srivastava takes it to be in the later half of Muhamad Tuglak.³²

28. Varada, 17/1-2, pp.11-12.

29. *Ibid.*, 21/1, pp. 26-36.

30. *Ibid.*

31. Tod, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 201.

32. *Khilji Sultans*, p. 139.

Muhato Nainsi wrote about this incident that during the continued seize of the fort scarcity of food provisions was felt. Duda and Tiloksi played a trick to prove the good condition of the fort. They got prepared the (pudding) sweet dish of rice and milk of she-pigs and got it thrown in the valley of fort putting on the leaf plates. When the spies noticed it they concluded that it was next to impossible to win the fort when the soldiers are taking such delicious food even after such a long seize. The Turks made up their mind to return. But Bhaṭṭi Bhima, son of Asakaran and grandson of Jasahar, told them the real situation. On this revelation, the Turks left the idea to finish the seize. The women and children in the fort performed Johar, and all the brave Yādavas put on saffron clothes and committed *Sākā*. The fort was again occupied by the Turks.³³

Rawal Ghadasi: Rawal Mularaja had handed over the sons of his younger brother Ratansi to Kamaluddin, the commander of the Khilji forces. When the Sultan came to know of this he enquired from Kamaluddin. He flatly refused and sent Ghadasi, etc. to Nagore. When the officer of Nagore was taking to Delhi after arresting them, they killed the officer on way and ran away. Gharasi reached Maheva. There, Rawal Mallinath, got Gharasi married with his son Jagamal's daughter. After some time Gharasi left Maheva and put his men in village Budhauda near Kiradu of Phalaudi, and himself went to Delhi. He could not succeed in getting back his territory even after a long service of the Sultan.

The *Khyat* (p. 56) informs that the king of Balakh-Bhukhara sent a bow to the Sultan and had asked 'if he could put the string, he could remain the ruler, otherwise he should become a beggar'. He also sent one elephant, one warrior and five thousand soldiers. Only Ghadasi could put that string, killed the warrior and the mad elephant by pulling its trunk. Being pleased with Ghadasi, Sultan gave the *puṭṭa* (lease) of Jaisalmer to him. Gharasi occupied Jaisalmer. According to an inscription of V.S. 1473 in the temple of Parsanath, situated in the fort, the 7th śloka of the 5th and 6th lines informs us that 'one Ghata Singh, born in the house of Ratna Singh, who attacked the *Mlecchas* like a lion attacking elephants, and destroyed their might'. It seems that in spite of the Shahi order, Ghadasi was successful to occupy the fort after a struggle against the ruler of the fort.

Ghadasi had to face internal feuds also. Bhaṭṭi Sardars had become independent and it was a problem to control them. But still Ghadasi handled the situation cautiously and crushed Haiya, Pohana, Bhaṭṭis who revolted. He also paid due attention to the construction work in the state. He got the old water reservoirs renovated and got constructed a new one also. He was issueless. His queen, Bimalade, adopted Kehar the grandson of Mularaja and son of Devaraja. The Jasahara Bhaṭṭis killed Ghadasi when he was alighting from the horse on the spot of picnic in the valley of the fort. Tejasi killed him with the sword. According to the inscription he died on II (Vadi or 1st half) of Margashirsa, Wednesday, V.S. 1418.

According to the *Khyat* (p. 58), the killer of Gharasi was Asakaran Jasahrot, and not Tejasi, and he was killed after the picnic when he was mounting the horse. The *Khyat* does not mention the time of the death of Gharasi nor the time of accession of Kehar (*ibid.*, p. 59).

33. Muhato Nainsi, *Khyat*, Part II, pp. 305-06.

Only Samvat 13 has been given the year of Kehar's accession (*ibid.*). Kehar married 21 queens from whom he got 24 sons, of whom only 13 had further issues. The *Khyat* explains in detail about them. Many of them were very brave and famous. His son Kelana got Asanikot constructed and expanded his territory.

In V.S. 1452, Rawal Laksmana became the ruler of Jaisalmer. In V.S. 1496, Rawal Vairasi became the ruler. He paid his attention to the construction work. He was a man of religious tendency and gave special protection to the Jain religion. After his death, his elder son, Chacho or Chachak, became the ruler in V.S. 1506. Of his death, it is described in the *Khyat* (p. 65) and Nainsi (Part 2, p. 325) that when he was returning after marriage from the Sodhis of Amarkot, they killed him by deception, in which 200 other Bhattis were also killed. His son, Devidas, became the ruler of Jaisalmer in V.S. 1513. He avenged the death of his father after accession and destroying the fort of Amarkot brought its bricks from which he got constructed the Karan palace. He was a fierce fighter and warrior. He defeated the Blochs badly. He defeated the Badmeras, Ghotadiyas and the Mahechas (*ibid.*, p. 65).

Rao Bika Rathod, with the help of his uncle, Kandhal, was trying to found a new state in the *Jungle Pradesh*. At that time, Pungal was under the rule of Rawal Sekha, a descendant of Kelhana, son of Rawal Kehar. Sometime back Bika had helped Sekha, so the latter got his daughter married to Bika. After this relation, Bika thought of constructing a fort near Kodamdesar. When the Bhattis informed Sekha, the latter expressed his inability to do anything, but assured the Bhattis that he would not oppose any action being taken by Jaisalmer. Kalikaran, the 80 years old son of Rawal Kehar, became the head of this campaign. According to the *Khyat* (pp. 65-66), Bika, after defeat went elsewhere to get the fort constructed.

Devidas ruled for 35 years and 4 months. According to *Tawarikh Jaisalmer*, he ruled for 40 years. He was of more fierce nature in comparison of his father and grandfather. He put the Yādava rule on more solid foundation with his courageous deeds. He exhibited his political thinking and prevented Bika to found a fort in the vicinity of Jaisalmer. The *Khyat* informs us that in 189th generation of Yādavas (which is incorrect), Jaitasi or Jaitrasingh, elder son of Devidas became the ruler of Jaisalmer. He was of opposite nature to his father. Rao Lunakama of Bikaner attacked him and compelled him for a treaty with the Rathods.³⁴ The Rawal was weak and lazy, and there was anarchy in the state. Even then he did some welfare acts for the people, such as construction of tanks, etc. He renovated the Ghaḍasisar, the construction and installation of a Jain temple, one well and the idols of Dasavtars with the idol of Lakshminarayana.³⁵ He breathed his last, according to the *Khyat* on the first half of Kartik 10, V.S. 1585. Karam Singh succeeded him who ruled just for a fortnight.³⁶ Lunakaran, son of Jaitasi had gone in the life time of his father in the service of the ruler of Kandhar. Hearing the news of Karamasi becoming the ruler, he reached Jaisalmer along with the 800 Kandhari soldiers, removed Karamasi from throne and himself became the ruler.³⁷

34. *Khyat*, p. 66, *Dayaldasari Khyat*, pp. 31-34.

35. Nahar, Puran Chand, *J.L.S.*, Vol.3, pp. 35-40.

36. *Khyat*, p. 66.

37. *Ibid.*

Rawal Lunakarana got completed the work of Jaitabandh. On this occasion, a purity *yagna* was also organised and messages were sent all over that whosoever had become Muslim under compulsion, would be readmitted into Hindu fold at the occasion. Such an act can be performed by a patriot Yādava only. This was a memorable act in history. As a result, many people returned to their original great family, Lunakaran also did many other welfare acts.

Some historians opine that Humayun also came to Jaisalmer and came into clash with the ruler of the State. At the most it may be possible that Humayun might had passed through a part of the territory of Jaisalmer, and his party was mishandled by the villagers on cow-slaughter. One more interesting incident is described by the *Khyat*. As stated earlier, the ruler of Kandhar reached Jaisalmer. Earlier Lunakaran was given refuge by Ali Khan, the ruler, and now the position was reverse, Ali Khan had had to take shelter in Jaisalmer. He studied the situation and found that the fort could be taken by deceit. He sent a message to the Rawal that his queens want to come to the harem of the Rawal. The Rawal did not object to it, but Ali Khan made seated armed warriors in the palanquins instead of the queens. When the soldiers reached the fort, the deceit became known and a fierce fighting took place. Lunakaran, along with his four brothers—Mandalika, Pratap, Raja Singh and Dhira Singh, three sons—Hardas, Durjansal and Surajamal, and 400 soldiers died in the fight. Yuvaraj Maladeva was away in the garden at that time, when he came to know of this, he attacked Ali Khan. The brave Yādavas slaughtered Ali Khan and his 500 soldiers. This half-sākā took place in V.S. 1607 (1550 A.D.). The queen of Lunakaran performed Sati on 14th of second half of Vaisakha, V.S. 1607 (Tuesday, 29 April, 1550 A.D.).

Rawal Maladeva: After the death of Lunakaran, his elder son Maladeva became the ruler that year. The *Khyat* describes the expansion of the family only and no description of any important battle is found. The family made extensive expansion in men and territory and established many villages and abodes. The historians have described this period in the history of Jaisalmer as the period of 'peace and contraction'. The history of India was taking a new shape and there was a competition among the rulers of India to get their attendance marked in the royal court of Delhi. The next chapter is the base of that description.

CHAPTER NINE

CONTACT WITH THE MOGHULS

Rawal Hararaj

He became the ruler on Friday, the first half of *Paush*, V.S. 1681 (A.D. 1561). At that time Akbar had established his rule in Delhi. Rajputs were jealous of each other. For their petty selfishness they had abandoned the high ideals of sacrificing their lives for the honour of their dynasty and protection of the country, and had sold their pride in exchange to luxurious life of Mughal court. Every ruler was trying to save his kingdom. Coward rulers, disgruntled persons and the royal families infested with internal feuds were waiting for appropriate time to be present in the Moghul court. Akbar too made the best of this opportunity. He himself put on a garb of religious tolerance and established the Moghul power on a solid rock and used every method to consolidate the dependence of this country. He established marital relations with the coward and shameless rulers marrying their daughters and sisters, and exploited the Indian bravery against the country in the same way as was done by the Britishers in the coming future. Akbar was the first ruler to initiate the theory of "divide and rule". He was the arch enemy of every such Indian who loved the freedom of his country. Even then the rulers of Mewar and Jodhpur wanted to keep this flame of freedom burning. Rawal Hararaj of Jaisalmer was one who wanted to cooperate with them, but he could not stand against the situation. He could not maintain the grand old tradition of his royal family of sacrificing every thing in the battle field and who preferred to embrace death and challenged the central authority and kept the tradition of *sākā* alive. After a period of nine years of analysis of the political situation, Hararaj came to the conclusion that his interest and the safety of his people was in accepting the sovereignty of Akbar, and not challenging it unsuccessfully.

*Akbarnamah*¹ informs us that in A.H. 978 (V.S. 1627, A.D. 1570), Akbar reached Nagore via Ajmer where Hararaj met Akbar through Bhagawandas Kacchavaha, the ruler of Amer, and he accepted to serve in the imperial army and married his daughter with Akbar. He also recruited his son Sultan Singh in the imperial army. Akbar gave the *pargana*² of Phalodi to Sultan Singh as *jagir*.³

1. *Akbarnamah* (Bawaridge), part 2, p. 518.

2. *Tawarikh*, p. 54.

3. *Ibid*.

After the death of Maladeva, the ruler of Jodhpur, it began to shatter. The imperial forces made an attack against Chandersen, his successor, and forced him to leave Jodhpur. He began to resist the imperial army from the fort of Siwana. Hararaj, after getting the *jagiri* of Phalodi, thought of a good opportunity to occupy Pohakaran; which is situated between Phalodi and Jaisalmer. But Sultan Singh did not succeed in his efforts, then the Bhattis sent message to Chandersen that "since you had lost Marwar, so it is but natural that the Moghuls would occupy Pohakaran some day. We are your relatives, so you mortgage Pohakaran with us, and whenever you return to power in Jodhpur then occupy Pohakaran after returning our money". Chandersen thought of this plan as fruitful and practical. He pledged the fort of Pohakaran with the Bhattis on the 14th of first half of Phalgun V.S. 1633 (A.D. 1576).

Similarly the Rawal fought against Megharaj, the Rawal of Mahave for Kodhana, Megharaj married his daughter with Hararaj and offered the villages of Kodhana, Aula, Varnada, Dogari, Bizhorai, Kotadiasar, Bhimasar and Khodawal.⁴ The Rao of Radadhara betrothed his daughter with Rawal Maladeva, but, after the death of Maladeva, married her with Ghazni Khan Pathan of Jalore. The Bhattis felt insulted and in revenge the Bhattis, under the command of Bhatti Khetasi, with a big force invaded Radadhara. Having conquered the fort, the Bhattis destroyed it and brought its bricks to Jaisalmer.⁵ He made other similar conquests.

Hararaj established feudal system in his kingdom. He put Varasimha Bhatti of Bikampur fort and Khianwa Bhattis of Barasalpur in *Jiwani Misal*; Badamera Rathods of Badamera, Kotaria Rathods, Sodhas, Khawadia Bhattis and Sihad Bhattis of Kotada were put in *Devi Misal*. Among these, the first four, e.g., Bhattis of Bikampur, Bhattis of Barsalpur, Rathods of Badamera and Rathods of Kotada were in class-I category, and the remaining feudal lords were declared the "pillars of Jaisalmer". Among them, Badamera and Kotada were declared as class one feudal lords, so it is obvious that the rulers of these places had accepted to be in permanent service of the Rawal. The Rawal of Umarkot or Amarkot was also under Hararaj. In this way Rawal Hararaj expanded his territories, established a new feudal system in Jaisalmer and founded the rule on a solid rock.

The Rawal was a lover and patron of art and literature. Yati Kushal Chander prepared the famous folk-lore of '*Dhola-Maru*' in prose for the Rawal in V.S. 1607.⁶ The Rawal himself composed the "*Pingal Siromani*" named book, which proves his love, ability and scholarship of the literature. He was also a lover of architecture, and his construction of a palace, known as '*Malin of Hararaj*', in the fort of Jaisalmer⁷ proves it. He also got constructed big buildings in the city also.⁸ He possessed all the qualities of a medieval ruler. He breathed his last on the 8th of second half of Pausa, Tuesday, V.S. 1634 (A.D. 1577).

4. Nainsi, part 2, p. 34.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Gahlot, Jagdish Singh, *op.cit.*, part I, pp. 671-2.

7. *Tawarikh*, p. 54.

8. *Khyat*, p.72.

Rawal Bhima

Bhima, the elder son of Hararaj became the ruler on the 4th of second half of Magh, V.S. 1634. He was very glorious ruler. He proved his metal while serving in the imperial army. Akbar gave him *Jagirs* in exchange of his services.⁹ He was given the *Mansab* of *Teen Hazari* (three thousand) by Akbar, so tells us the *Bhatinamah*,¹⁰ but the *Akbarnamah* enumerates him in the *Manasabdars* of 500 *Sawaras* (riders).¹¹ Jahangir describes him in the *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri* as an individual of great status and overpowering influence.¹² He was married to the daughter of Bhima when he was a prince; and when he became an emperor in A.D. 1605 (V.S. 1662), he gave the title of '*Malikan-e-Jahan*' (Queen of the world) to her. Bhima had acquired a good reputation in the court of Akbar. The *Khyat* informs that he got the practice of sending women in the days of '*Navrojas*' stopped by his influence. Prithviraj, the Raja of Bikaner, said this couplet on this occasion.¹³

Bhima na bheti Bhatian, Navaroje nari/Dujo raja so bhala, kar melai dāri. (Bhima did not offer Bhāti women in the days of Navaroja (to Akbar) like other kings who were doing this).

The emperor had given the areas consisting of Rohari, fort of Bakkhar, and the region of Bakkhar up to the border of Sindh to Rawal Bhima. This whole region was called as '*Rawal-dang*'.¹⁴ Rawal Bhima was very fond of construction work also. He got the Kamarkot of Jaisalmer built, seven new burjs (towers) in the fort and several gates, e.g., *Suryapal*, *Ganeshpal* and *Rangpol* or *havapol* in the Jaisalmer fort. The *Khyat* informs us that 50 lac rupees were spent on these works.¹⁵ Ruling about 36 years, he went to heaven on 2nd of the first half of the *Maha*, V.S. 1670.¹⁶

Rawal Kalyandas

He succeeded Rawal Bhima on the 15th of second half of *Maha*, V.S. 1670 (A.D. 1613). After the demise of Bhima his queen, Phoolkanwar (Bikiji), was going to Bikaner, her father's house, with her minor son Nathu Singh. She was angry due to the behaviour of chief Raghunath Singh. Nathu Singh, on his way, died at Phalaudi. The queen appointed her supporters as the administrator of Phalaudi and went to Bikaner. The rulers of Bikaner occupied Phalaudi.¹⁷ The members of the ruling family prevented the news of the death of

9. Bawaridge, *Akbarnamah*, part 2, p. 1763.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Gahlot, *op.cit.*, part I, p. 673.

12. *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri*, p. 159.

13. *Khyat*, p. 73.

14. *Tawarikh*, pp. 54 - 55.

15. *Khyat*, p. 73.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Khyat*, p. 30.

prince and propagated that Bhima had died issueless. Jehangir has mentioned this incident in his *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri* like this: "Kalyan Jaisalmeri, for whom Raja Kṛṣṇadas was sent to call, presented himself, and he presented 100 *asharfi* and one thousand rupees. His elder brother Bhima was a feudal lord when he passed away, he was survived by a son of two months old, who also did not live for long. I had married his daughter when I was the prince and gave her the title of 'Malika-e-Jahan'. These people had been loyal to us since long, and we had marital relations with them. Therefore I called for Kalyan, brother of Rawal Bhima, and gave him the kingdom and title of Rawal to him".¹⁸ In addition, Shyamaldas mentions that Jehangir had granted Rawal Kalyan the *Jat* of two thousand and the *Mansab*(office) of one thousand riders.¹⁹ Nainsi writes of Kalyandas: "He was a sluggish Thakur. He looked after the Rajputs and subjects well. He visited the royal court only once, but kept sitting in the fort. During his life time, the administration was looked after by prince Manohardas. He only once went to Kodhana on raid and killed Gopaldas of Uhada."²⁰ His was no achievement except getting the throne. He breathed his last on the 6th of first half of *Bhadrapada*, V.S. 1684 (A.D. 1627).²¹

Rawal Manohardas

He succeeded his father. He had good experience of administration. He was a benevolent ruler. He quelled the riots of the Balochs by killing Ali Khan Baloch.²² The Rathods of Pohkaran also made riots in his time. He got the news of Pohakaran being looted by Pohakaran Rathods, whom he chased and caught them on the border of Jaisalmer and Mahave, about one hundred kilometres from Jaisalmer. The Pohakaranas were badly defeated. The Rawal pardoned them and allowed them to live in his territory.²³ He fought the third battle with Mughal Khan, the son of Ismail Khan Baloch. This Baloch had also started atrocities, then the Rawal had to take action against him. The Rawal emerged victorious and Mughal (Bughal) Khan lost his life. Dedu Sihad, son of Dhandraj, Dhanraj Udharana, Hinvol and Devidas, son of Bhawanidas Rathod, were killed from the side of the Rawal. Later on, the Rawal looted ten villages and drove away their cattle.²⁴

The territories of Jaisalmer, according to the *Tawarikh*, were sufficiently expanded. In the days of Manohardas, the frontiers of Jaisalmer touched village Mandale and beyond that, 100 k.m. from Jaisalmer, in east; in south, more than 100 k.m. from Jaisalmer city to Rawal Dang; and in north, about the same distance up to fort Deravara and Mughal. To some extent,

18. V.V., Part II, p. 1763.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Nainsi, Part 2, p. 346.

21. *Khyat*, p. 74.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Nainsi, *op.cit.*, pp. 346-47.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 347.

Baramer, Joona, Parakar, etc., were also under the control of the Rawal.²⁵ He was not only a great warrior and an able administrator. He was also fond of construction works of public welfare. He completed the work of the fort started by Bhima and made it invincible.²⁶ It shows his love for architecture and insight for warfare. He died on the 2nd of the first half of *Margashirsa* of V.S. 1706 (A.D. 1649) issueless.

Rawal Ramchandra

Rawal Ramchandra sat on throne with the support of harem in V.S. 1706. There was internal feud from the very beginning. Raghunath Singh, the Chief of the Sihad Bhattis, made efforts to replace Ramchandra by Sabal Singh. On the other hand, Jaswant Singh, the ruler of Jodhpur, purchased Pohakaran for 6 lac rupees in imperial office. Bai Manabhavati made requests to the emperor, in Jahanabad, that "Pohakaran is written in our *Jagir*, but it is not under our control. So far Rawal Manohardas, our relative was alive, we did not speak. Now Bhatti Ramchandra Chandasivot is the ruler, why we should leave Pohakaran for him? If Your Majesty permits, we occupy Pohakaran". Then Emperor Shahajahan said to the Bai, "if you ask, I may give you Jaisalmer even, Pohakaran belongs to you, who prevents you from occupying it?" Jaswant Singh came to know of these news in 1706 (V.S.). He requested to the emperor, "We have nothing to do with Jaisalmer, that is the original abode of the Bhattis, and Pohakara has been our place for always". The emperor gave a *firman* to Jaswant Singh on 3rd of second half of Vaisakh, V.S. 1706. Next month he reached home. In Sravan, he sent Sadul and Biharidas, with the royal *firman*, to Jaisalmer. The *firman* was shown to Rawal Ramchandra. After four days they replied, "Forts are not given for begging". The Thakurs returned and narrated the whole incident to Jaswant Singh. The Maharaja ordered the army to march to Pohakaran. Nainsi further gives details of army.²⁷ On 7th of second half of Asoja, the emperor asked, "Who is the successor of deceased Rawal Manohardas". At that time, Sabal Singh was in the service of Rathod king Roop Singh, ruler of Kishangadh. He presented Sabal Singh before the emperor. Then the emperor empowered Bhatti Sabal Singh Dayaladasota as the ruler of Jaisalmer and sent him to Jaisalmer. Sabal Singh had neither men nor material. He reached Jodhpur. The Maharaja, giving him a horse, *Siropava* (full dress) and money for expenses, asked him to go to Phalaudi where was coming the Jodhpur army. Sabal Singh remained in Phalaudi for many days. Then he fought the army, which came from a Chauki of Pohakaran, at Kharad of Kelan, situated at a distance of 10 K.M. from Shekhasar, near the pond of Yavan. Sabal Singh became victorious, and he fought in cooperation with Jaswant Singh. This incident has been described in detail by Nainsi, in addition to his *Khyat*, in the "*Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat*" under the heading "*Baat Paragane Pohakaran Ri*".

25. *Tawarikh*, p.57.

26. *Ibid.*, p.55; *Khyat*, p.74.

27. Nainsi, Part II, p. 348.

When the army of Jaswant Singh occupied Pohakaran, Sabal Singh marched to Jaisalmer. When he had gone only for some distance, he received a message from Rawal Ramchander that the latter was ready to abdicate Jaisalmer in favour of Sabal Singh provided he was allowed to live in the fort of Deravar and a safe passage from the fort of Jaisalmer with his belongings and his family. His request was acceded to. On this, Ramchander took ample provisions and finer horses and camels and went to live in the fort of Deravar. Thus Ramchander ruled Jaisalmer only for 10 months and twenty days.²⁸ Only three generations of Ramchandra-Ramchandra-Madho Singh and Kishan Singh; lived in Deravar. Then the Kureshi Doudapote Fateh Khan of Sikarpur, snatched Deravar from Raya Singh, the third descendant of Ramchandra, the Raya Singh began to live in gudiya of Bikaner state. Till Jalim Singh, grandson of Raya Singh, the Deravar ruler, Bhawal Khan, paid twenty rupees daily, but stopped payment after that.

Rawal Sabal Singh

After the abdication of Ramchandra, Sabal Singh became the ruler on 5th of first half of Magha, V.S. 1707 (A.D. 1650).²⁹ Now the influence of Khetasinghot Bhattis increased and they were included in the upper class of *Umraos*. The *Khyat* describes the method of Sabal Singh getting the throne in somewhat different way. He breathed his last on 9th of second half of *Asadha* of V.S. 1710 (A.D. 1660).³⁰

Maharawal Amar Singh

He, the second son of Sabal Singh, became the successor at the age of 22 on 15th of second half of Kartika (Savana according to the *Khyat*)³¹ V.S. 1716. He was born on 13th of second half of Margashirsa, Saturday, V.S. 1694 (4 November, 1637).³² He had 13 queens and 18 brave sons. In the medieval times rulers were a prey to polygamy. All the Bhatti Yādava rulers were polygamous with only some exceptions. Caste had never been the basis of matrimony. The Bhattis married in different Rajput clans, such as, Sodhas, Paramaras, Chauhans, Jhalas, Solankis, Yadavas and others. These marital relations helped in consolidating political relations. But there was no certainty, even after these relations, that there would be no wars in between them. Sometimes the marriage ceremony itself was the purpose of war and some times it resulted in.

28. *Khyat*, p. 75.

29. *Ibid.*, p.76.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

32. Gahlot, Jagdish Singh, p. 376.

At that time, the Balochs started troubles on the Western frontier of the State. They invaded the fort of Rohari. Though the Balochs were badly defeated in the battle, yet many Bhatti warriors also lost their lives. Their wives committed *Sati* collectively, and that place is known as the '*Sation Ki Pahari*' (hill of Satis). The riot of Channa Rajputs was also quelled. Amar Singh got constructed the big fort of Baksar on the bank of Sindhu river, in between Rohari and Sakhar. He also got one canal constructed from the Sindhu, which was named Amarakas, and established one town, Ranipur, there.³³ Now this whole area is a part of Pakistan.

He quelled all internal feuds and external riots. He could not succeed in his efforts to take back Phalodi and Pohakaran. He was a man of religious ideas. He repelled the state orders prohibiting the sadhus of all sects except the Nath sect, in vogue from the times of Bhatti Devaraj, to enter Jaisalmer. He was fond of construction work. He got constructed '*Amar Sagar*' on the road going to Lodrava, 5 km from Jaisalmer. This beautiful tank was built in V.S. 1745. He also got many places of worship and palaces constructed.

He died on 8th of second half of Asadha, V.S. 1758 (A.D. 1701).³⁴

Maha Rawal Jaswant Singh

After the death of Amar Singh, his elder son, Jaswant Singh became the ruler on 13th of second half of Bhadrapada, V.S. 1758.³⁵ From the inception, he had to pay attention to establish law and order in the kingdom. He suppressed, first, the Sodhas and then the Bhattis. He also achieved conquest on the Rathods of Khed,³⁶ but even then Jaswant Singh could not stop the contraction of the boundaries of Jaisalmer state. Pungal was occupied by the Bikaner ruler, Barmera by the Jodhpur, and the area in the vicinity of Satluj river was occupied by Daud Khan Afgan of Sikarpur.³⁷

He died on 9th of 1st half of second Sravan of V.S. 1764 (A.D. 1707).³⁸

Rawal Buddhsingh

He was the minor son of Jagat Singh and grandson of Jaswant Singh, who sat on throne on 12th of first half of Vaisakh, V.S. 1764.³⁹ But Tej Singh, his uncle, rebelled against him, and killing Budh Singh, and his minister Mehta Arjun Singh, himself became the ruler on

33. *Tawarikh*, p. 61.

34. *Khyat*, p. 78.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

36. *Tawarikh*, p. 64.

37. Gahlot, Jagdish Singh, Part I, p. 678.

38. *Khyat*, p. 79.

39. *Ibid.*

1st of second half of Vaisakh, V.S. 1778. Hari Singh son of Rawal Amar Singh, the then ruler. When according to tradition, Tej Singh went to Gharasisar (or Nagadisar) to bring clay from tank, Hari Singh attacked from behind, wounded him and ran away. According to the *Khyat*,⁴⁰ Tej Singh died after some time, and Hari Singh met the same fate consequential to an attack by Kalava barber. Tej Singh ruled only one year and twenty four days.

Supporters of Tej Singh made his three years old son, Swai Singh, ruler on 13th of first half of Asadh, V.S. 1779. Akhai Singh ran away to save his life. He kept gathering army for one year. Many feudal lords also joined Akhai Singh, and invited him to be king on 14th of second half of Sravan, V.S. 1779.⁴¹ Sawai Singh was kept prisoner in the palace and was killed after some time.⁴² At that time Farrukhasayar was ruling in Delhi. Similar was the situation in Delhi also. There was controversy about the successor of Jodhpur. Ram Singh was hob-nobing with the Marathas against Bakht Singh for the throne of Jodhpur. Ram Singh, after the death of Bakht Singh, again invited the Marathas to Jodhpur. In V.S. 1810-11, Jayappa Sindhia, with his army, came to Jodhpur. Maharaja Vijaya Singh sent his queen, and his sons, Fateh Singh, Bhim Singh, etc. to Jaisalmer.⁴³ Fateh Singh was married to Vijaykunwar, the Jaisalmer princess.⁴⁴ Maharawal Akhai Singh was married to Phoolkunwar, the daughter of Ajit Singh, the Maharaja of Jodhpur.⁴⁵ Due to these relations the Maharawal helped the people of Jodhpur. He also deftly handled local feuds and inter-state disputes.

Akhai Singh was deeply interested in construction works, and he got constructed religious buildings and buildings of war importance. Fortresses from village Girarao to Kot and in Vesala and Setarao were constructed, and similarly in Dahali also. In the fort of Jaisalmer, beyond Havapole and on Tripolia, a palace named Akhai *vilas* was got constructed. In city *Radavilava* and Akhaipol were constructed. Fortresses were constructed in Deva and Khajh villages, and one pavilion in the garden in Jaisalmer.⁴⁶

The Maharawal was also keenly interested in the economic affairs. He fixed the rate of annual tax, and the businessmen from outside were invited and settled in the city for the progress of business and trade. He also issued his special currency. The new weight and measures system increased economic progress.

He breathed his last on 1st of the second half of *Asvin*, Tuesday, V.S. 1818 (29th December, 1761).⁴⁷

40. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

43. Ozha, *History of Rajasthan* (Hindi), Part 2, p. 695.

44. *Tawarikh*, p. 67.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Khyat*, p. 82.

47. Gahlot, Jagdish Singh, Part I, p. 681.

CHAPTER TEN

THE YĀDAVAS WHO BECAME JATS

The Sidhu Tribe

The family of Patiala belongs to the Sidhu clan whose villages are widely scattered over the tract of country lying between the Ravi and the Jamuna, North of the Sutlej. The clan lost its importance, and the war of 1849, and the annexation of the Punjab, broke the power of the last Sidhu family of Attari one member of which, Raja Sher Singh, commanded the Sikh troops at Chillianwala, were the incapacity of an English general and the gallantry of the Sikhs almost drew upon the British army a calamity as crushing as that which had befallen it, eight years before, in Afghanistan.

The only other Sidhu families, trans-Sutlej, whose names had any historical interest, were those of Attariwala, Sidhu, Bhilowal, and Sowrian, South of the Satlej, however, the Sidhus were more powerful than ever, and among them numbered the independent Princes of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, and Faridkot; the Sirdars of Bhadour, Mulod, and Budrukhan; the Bhais of Kaithal and Arnowli, and many other chiefs of less note. Like almost all tribes, the Sidhus are of Rajput origin, and trace their ancestry to Jesal or Jesalji, a Bhaṭṭi-Yāḍava and founder of the state and city of Jesalmer, who was driven from his kingdom by a successful rebellion in A.D. 1180; and wandered northwards where Pirthvi Raj was then king of Ajmer and Delhi. Near Hisar, Jesal determined to settle, and here four sons were born to him, Salavahan, Kalan, Hemhel, and Pem. The third of these, Hemhel, sacked the town of Hisar, seized a number of villages in its neighbourhood, and overran the country up to the walls of Delhi. He was driven back by Shamsuddin Altmus, the third Tatar king of Delhi, but was afterwards received into favour and made governor of the Sirsa and Bhatinda country in A.D. 1212. He built the town of Hansar, where he died in 1214, and was succeeded by his son Jandra, who was only remarkable as the father of twenty-one sons, from whom as many clans have descended; Batera being the ancestors of the Sidhus. Monjalrao, son of Batera, rebelled against the Delhi government, and was captured and beheaded at Jesalmer. He left one son, Undra, commonly known as Anand Rai, who was the father of Khiwa, the last pure Yāḍava Rajput of the family. Khiwa first married a Rajputani, but she bore him no children, and he then took, as a second wife, the daughter of one Basia, a Jat Zamindar of Neli. This marriage was considered a disgrace by his Rajput kinsmen, and Khiwa was ever afterwards known as "*Khor*"—an alloy of metals, or any inferior and degrading admixture. Khiwa, however,

obtained what he desired, an heir, who was named Sidhu, and from him the Sidhu tribe has derived its name.

Sidhu, who was, according to Rajput custom, reckoned as of the caste of his mother, a Jat, had four sons, Dhar, sometimes called Dehi, Bhur and Rupa. From the first has descended the families of Kaithal, Jhumha, Arnowli, and Sadhowal; and from the second the Phulkian chiefs, Sūra, the third, has no family of any note among his descendants, who, however, are numerous in Bhatinda and Ferozepur; while those of Rupa, the youngest, reside at Pir-ki-kot and Ratriya in the Ferozepur district. Bir, the son of Bhur had two sons, the eldest of whom, Sidhtilkara, did not marry but became an ascetic. Sitrah, the younger, had two sons Jertha and Lakumba, from the second of whom the family of Attari, in the Amritsar district, has sprung. His son Hari, gave his name to Hariki on the Sutlej, near the spot where the battle of Sobraon was fought and also founded the villages of Bhatta and Ghima. Jertha had one son, Mahi or Maha, and from him descended, in successive generations, Gala, Mehra, Hambir, and Burar, who gave his name to the Burar tribe. He was a brave and a successful man, and waged continual warfare with the Jaid and Dhaliwal Jats, and the Muhammadan Bhattis of Sirsa, who had sprung from the same original stock as himself, also with the Chattarsal Rajputs, against whom he fought at Fakarsar, Theri and Kot Ladhoha, at which last place it is said that two thousand fell on the side of Burar, and a still larger number on that of the Rajputs, while the fort of Ladhoha passed into the possession of the conqueror. Barar had two sons, Paur and Dhul, the younger of whom is the ancestor of the Raja of Faridkot, and of the Barar tribe, which holds almost the whole of the districts of Mari, Mudki, and Mukatsar, Bachan, Maharaj, Sultan Khan and Bhadaur in the Ferozpur district, the whole of Faridkot, and many villages in Patiala, Nabha, Jhumba and Malod.

The Rise of the Family

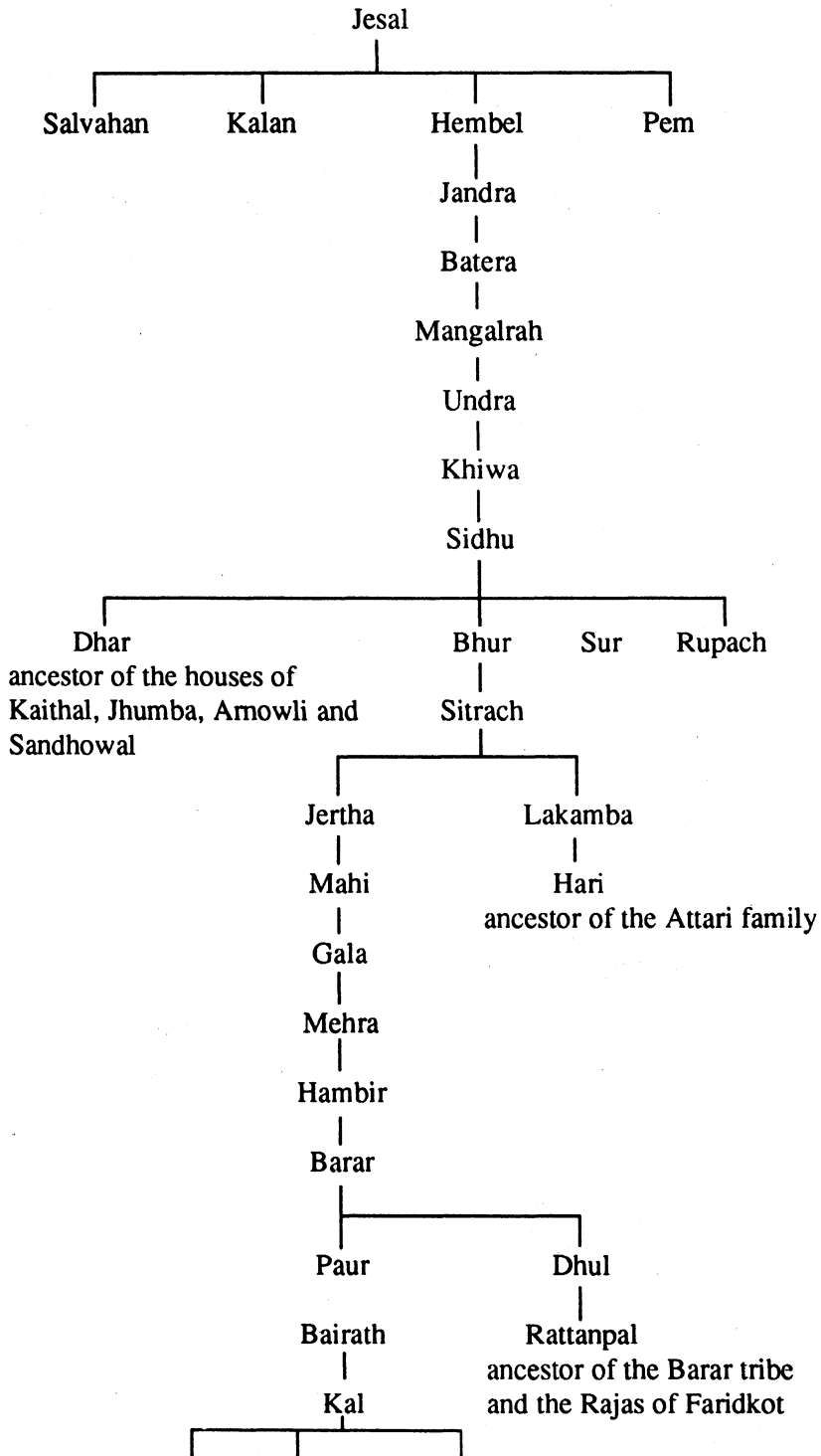
The two brothers quarrelled, and the elder brother, Paur, being worsted, fell into great poverty in which his family remained for several generations, till Sanghar restored their fortunes. When the emperor Babar invaded India in 1524, Sanghar waited on him at Lahore and entered his army with a few followers; but soon afterwards he was killed at the battle of Panipat, on the 21st April, 1526, when Babar defeated Ibrahim Lodi, with great slaughter, and gained the empire of Delhi. This victory did not, however, lead him to forget the services of Sanghar, to whose son Bariam he gave the Chaudhriyat of the waste country to the South-West of Delhi, which office was confirmed to him by Humayun, the son and successor of Babar, in 1554. The name of Bariam is the only one by which this chief is historically known, but it was given him by the Emperor in honour of his bravery, and signifies brave, "Bahadur". He lived for the most part at Neli, the village of Sidhu's maternal relations, and also rebuilt Bhidowal, which had become deserted. He was killed about the year 1560, fighting with the Bhattis, and with him fell his grandson Suttoh. He left two sons Mehraj or Maharaj, who succeeded to the Chaudhriyat, and Garaj, whose descendants people five villages in the Ferozpur district. The only son of Maharaj had been killed in his father's lifetime, and Pukko,

the grandson succeeded, but he was soon after killed in a skirmish with the Bhaṭṭis at Bhidowal. He had two brothers, Lukho and Chaho; the descendants of the first live in Kakopal; and of the second at the village of Chaho, some eight miles distant from Bhadour in the Ludhiana district. His sons were Habhal and Mohan, the latter of whom was confirmed as Chaudhari; but he fell into arrears with the government, and finding himself unable to pay what was due, and also being much harassed by his hereditary foes the Bhaṭṭis, he fled to Hansi and Hisar, where his relations were numerous, and, collecting a considerable force, returned home and defeated the Bhaṭṭis near Bhidowal. By the advice of Guru Har Govind, the sixth of the Sikh prophets, he found the village of Mahraj or Maharaj, naming it after his great-grandfather. From this village twenty-two others have been peopled known as the Bais *Maharajkian*; and are called Maharajkian Sikhs.

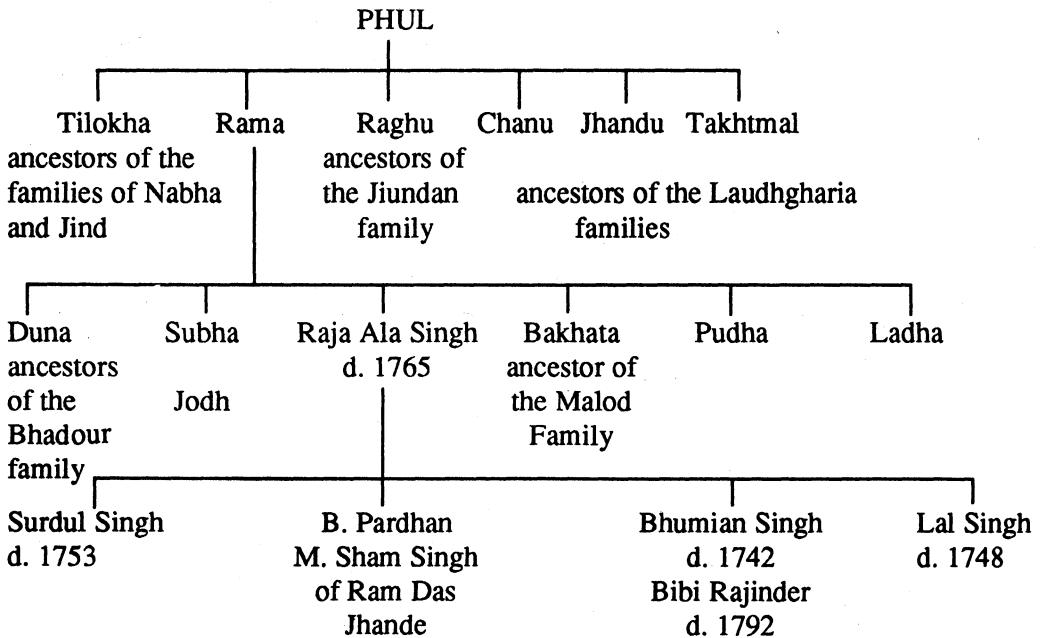
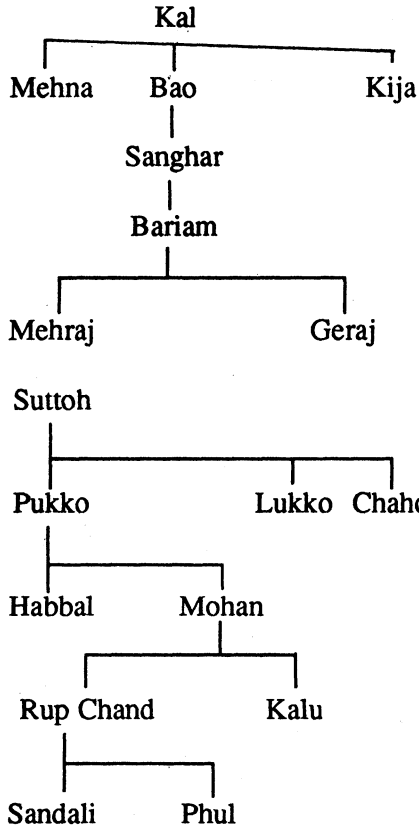
Mohan with his eldest son Rup Chand, was killed, according to the custom of his family, in a fight with the Bhaṭṭis, about the year 1618, and Kala, the next surviving son, succeeded to the Chaudhriyat and the guardianship of his deceased brother's sons, Phul and Sandali. The three other sons of Mohan helped to found Mahraj, where their descendants still live. Soon after Mohan's death, Har Govind again visited Bhidowal, and Kala who had faith in the Guru's power and blessing, told his nephews that when they should see the saint, they were to place their hands on their stomachs as if suffering from hunger. This they did; and Har Govind asking the reason, was told by Kala that the boys were starving. "What" said the Guru, "matters the hunger of one belly, when these boys shall satisfy the hunger of thousands". He then asked the names of the children; and on hearing that of Phul (blossom), he said, "the name shall be a true omen, and he shall bear many blossoms".

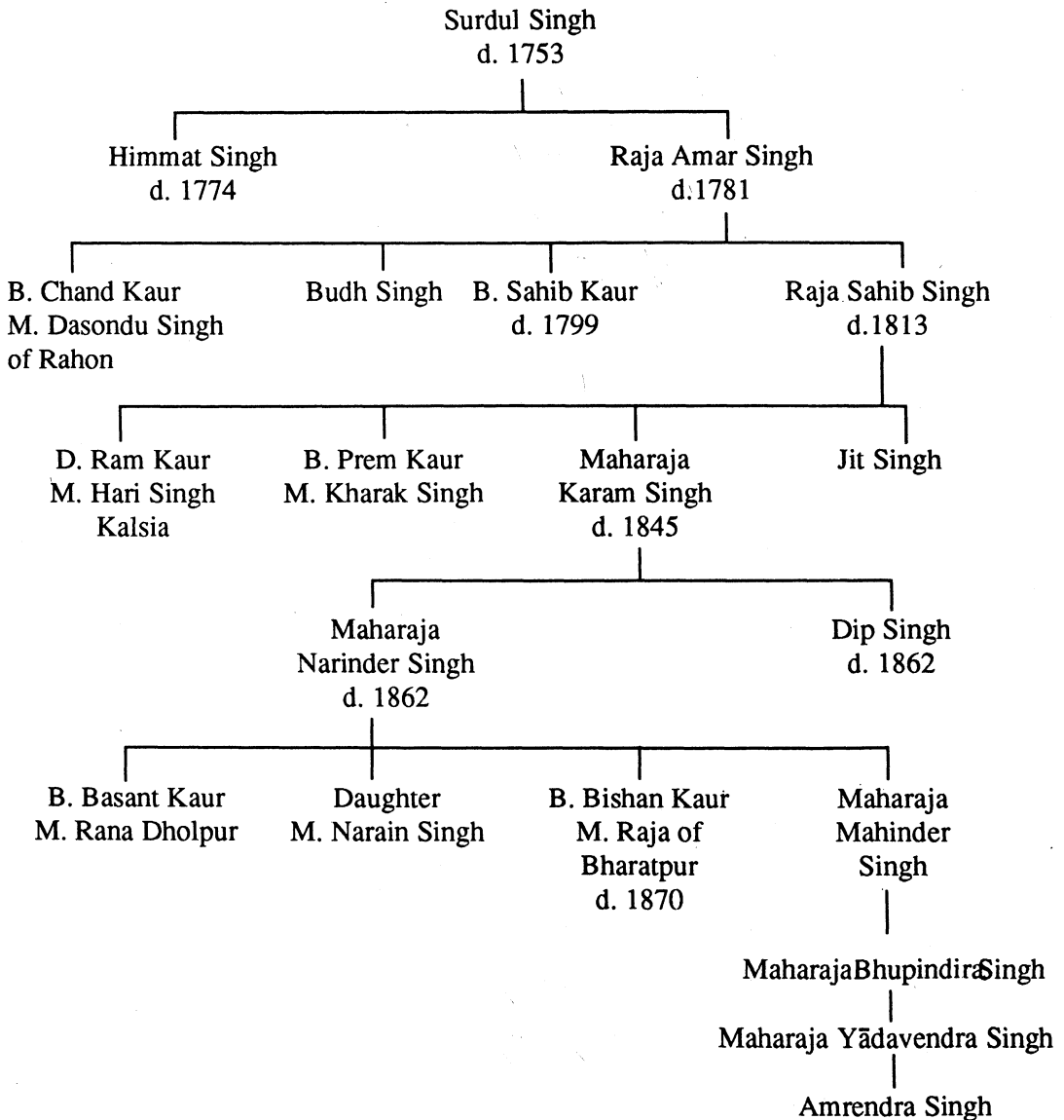
Phul was the second son of Rup Chand, by Mai Umbi, a Jitani Jat woman. In the year 1627, Phul left Maharaj and founded a village five miles distant, which he called after his own name. He received a *firman* or deed of grant from the Emperor Shah Jahan, confirming to him the office which had been for so many years held by his family. The prophecy of Guru Har Govind was fulfilled, and Phul had seven children from whom have descended many noble families. By his first wife, Bali, daughter of a Zamindar of Dilami in Nabha, he had three sons, Tilokha, Rama, and Raghu, and one daughter, Rami Rama Kaur or Fateh, whom he married to a sirdar of Ram Das, giving her as a dowry the village of Bugar, which her descendants still possess. From Tilokha have descended the houses of Nabha, Jhind and Badrukhan; from Rama the houses of Bhadour, Patiala and Malod; and from Raghu, the Sikhs of Jiundan. By his second wife, Rajji, of Sidhani, he had also three sons—Channu, Jhandu and Takhat Mal. The second of these died without issue; and the descendants of Channu and Takhat Mal, are known as the "Laudhgharian" Sikhs. Phul died in 1652.

The genealogy of the family, from the date of flight of Jesal till the death of Phul, including twenty nine generations, is as below:



(Contd.)





Rama, or Ram Chand is said to have first distinguished himself by attacking and dispersing a large body of marauders who were passing the village of Phul laden with plunder; and obtaining by his success some considerable wealth, he founded the village of Rampura and began to attack such of his neighbours as were less powerful than himself. He made a raid into the Bhatti country and defeated Hassan Khan. His next victory was over the Muhammadan chief of Kot and plunder of his camp.

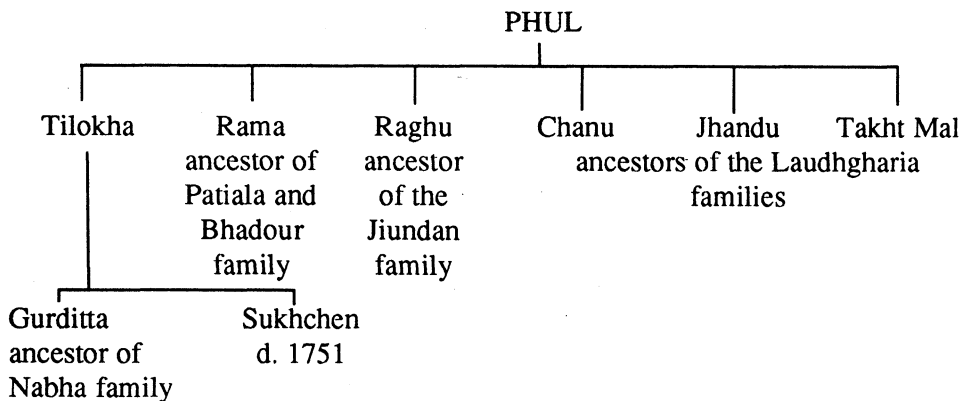
The Delhi empire was at this time fast falling to decay and could maintain with difficulty its authority in the outlying districts beyond Jamuna. Rama thought the opportunity a good

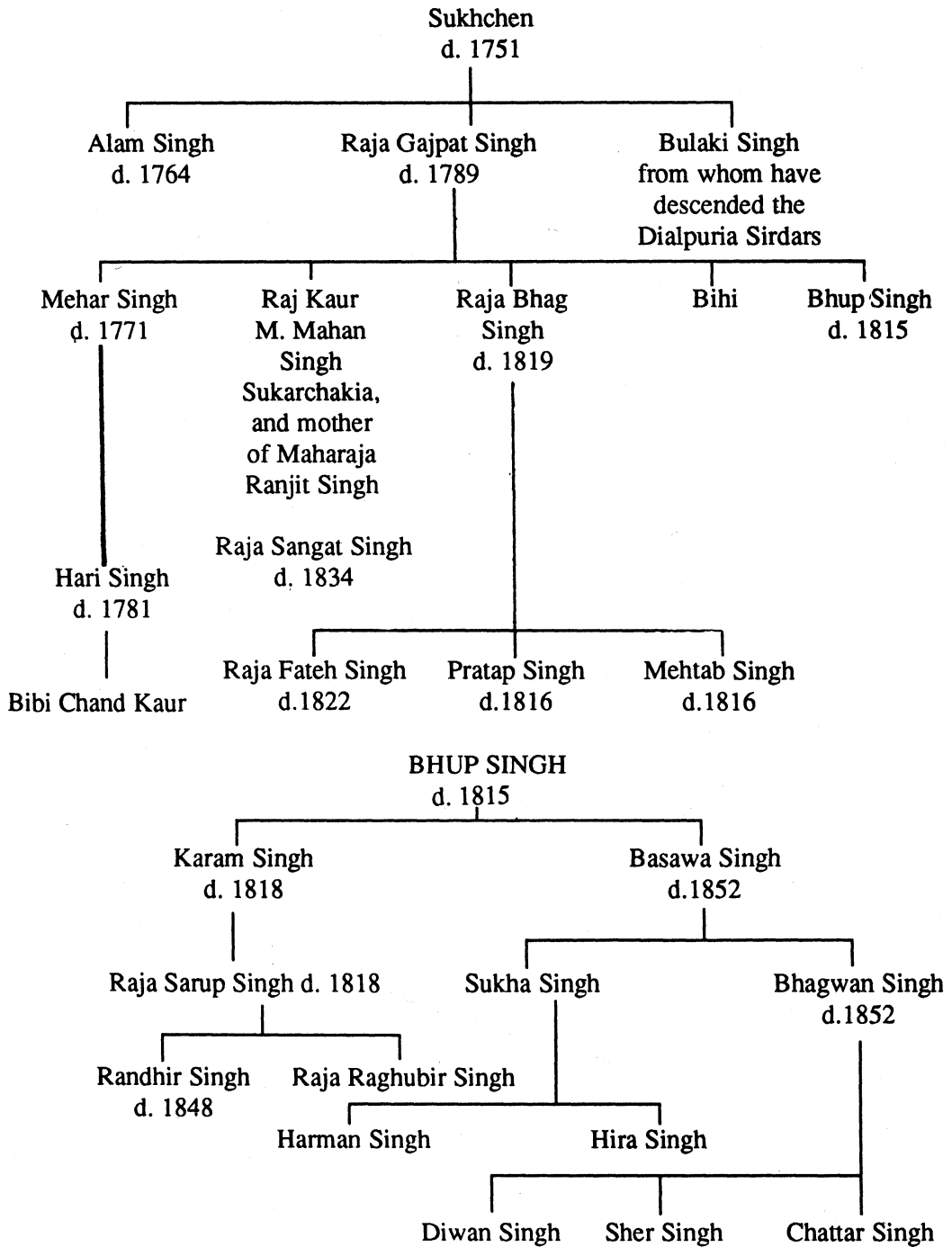
one to increase his own authority and as he had a friend at the court of the Muhammadan Governor of Sirhind, in the person of his cousin Chen Singh, he was able to obtain permission to superintend what was then known as the jungle ilaqa or Waste district on promise of payment of all his arrears of revenue. Rama murdered Chen Singh, the sons of latter killed Rama at Kotla in 1714 at the age of 80. He was a follower of Guru Govind Singh, although neither he nor his sons, with the exception of Ala Singh and Ram Singh, took the name of Singh as an affix to their own. He married Sabi, the daughter of a Bhuttar Zamidar of Nanun, who bore him six sons, Duna, Subha, Ala Singh, Bakhta, Ladha, and Dudha. The first of these was the founder of the Bhadour family. Subha, the second son, died in 1729, and his only son Jodh, the same year; and Hodiana, which he had conquered and made his residence, came into possession of his brother Ala Singh. Bakhta, the fourth son, was the ancestor of the Malod family, while of the last two brothers, Budha and Ladha, too the name of Ram Singh, no descendants are now living. Ala Singh was the founder of the chiefship of Patiala and the law of primogeniture was adopted as the rule of the family. Nabha, Jind, and Patiala alone of the then thirteen Phulkian houses asserted the rule of primogeniture. Rest of the history is well known and the rulers styled themselves as the Sidhu-Barar Jats, and not as Bhatti Yādavas, though they were the latter.

The Jind State

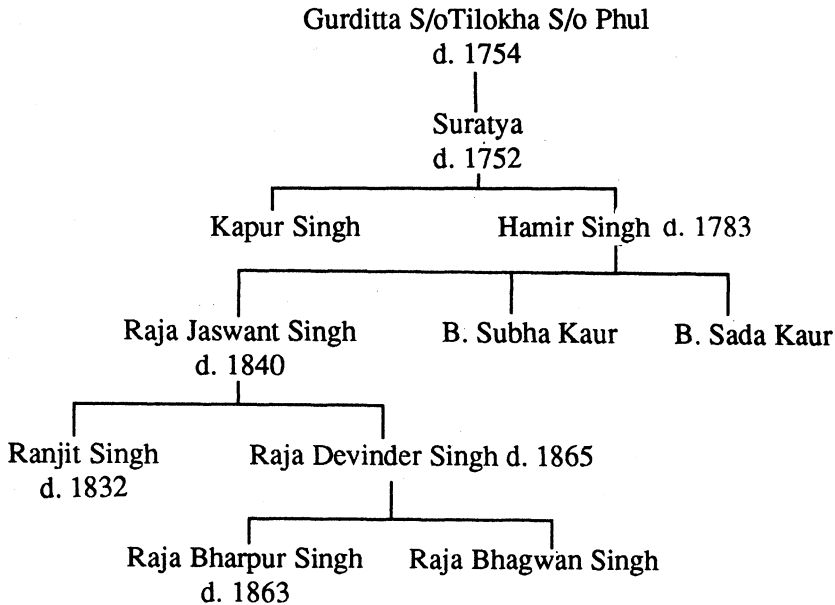
Phul, the founder of Phulkian family, had a son, named, Tilokha, who had two sons, Gurditta and Sukhchen, from the elder of whom has descended the Nabha family, and from the younger the chiefs of Jind, Badrukhan and Bazidpur. Tilokha succeeded his father as Chaudhari, but he made no attempt to increase his share of the estate. Sukhchen was a simple Zamindar, He had three sons Alam Singh, Gajpat Singh and Balaki Singh. He founded several new villages. He gave the village of Sukhchen to his son Bulaki Singh and village Balanwali to Alam Singh. He himself continued to reside with his second son, Gajpat Singh, at his ancestral village of Phul where he died at the age of seventy five in 1758 A.D.

The following is the genealogy of the Jind family:





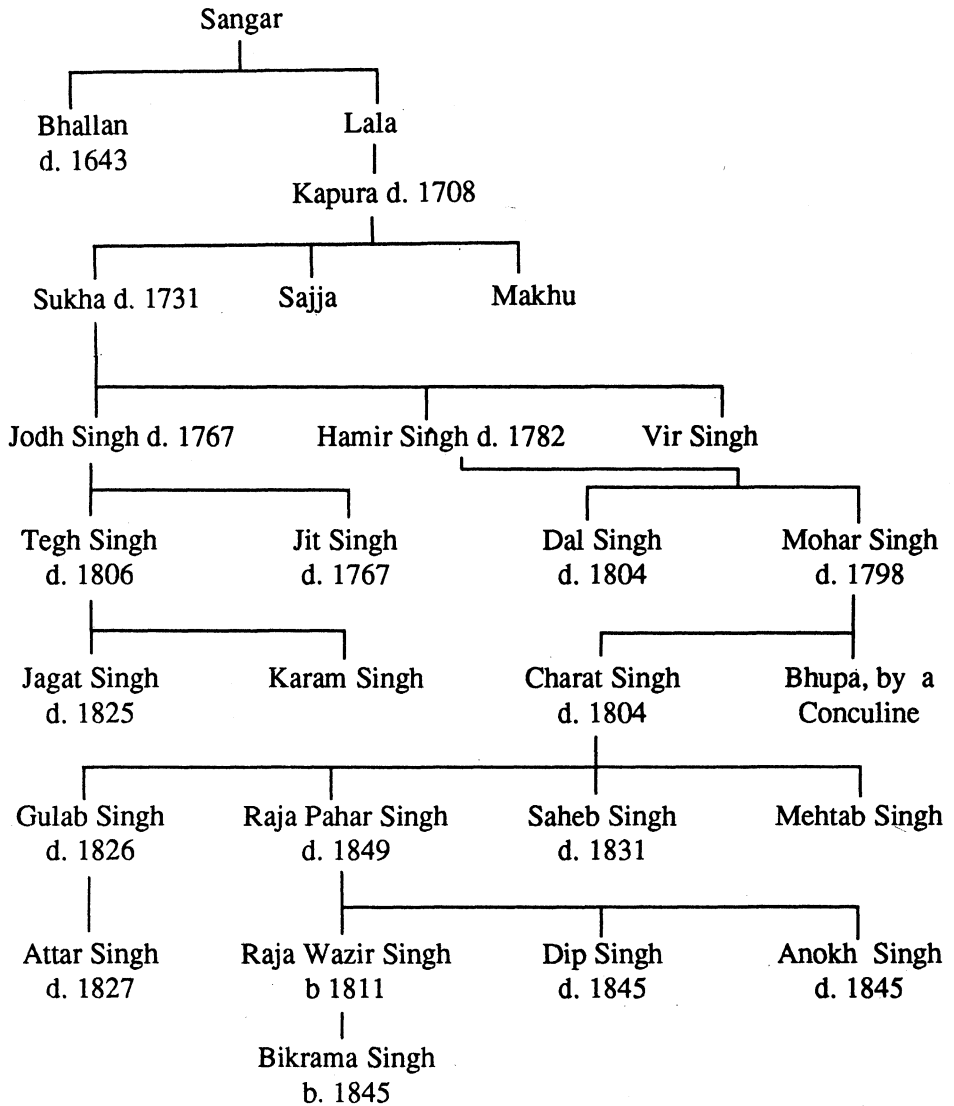
The Nabha State

*The History of the Faridkot State*

The Origin: The Barar family of Faridkot has sprung from the same stock as the Phulkian and Kythal chiefs, claiming to descend from Barar, the seventeenth in descent from Jesal the founder of the Jesalmer State, and reputed ancestor of the Sidhu, Barar and many other clans. The Barar were originally Bhatti Rajputs or the Yādavas.

A story is told that in the reign of the emperor Akbar, the Muhammadan Bhattis of Sirsa and the Barars quarrelled about their boundaries, and both parties went to Delhi to ask the emperor to adjudicate between them. Bhallan, son of Sangar, represented Barar clan, and Mansur, who was supposed to have influence at court, one of his daughters being in the royal harem, was the champion of the Bhattis. The emperor gave them an audience in open Darbar, and as was customary, presented them with turbans and a dress of honour. Mansur at once began to wind the Muslin round his head, when Sangar snatched it from him. A scuffle ensued in which the turban was torn in two pieces. The emperor was amused at the quarrel, and said that his decision would correspond with the length of the pieces of muslin which each had managed to retain. On being measured, the fragments were found exactly equal in length, and the Bhattiana and Barar boundary was accordingly laid down on a principle of equality, half the disputed country being given to either claimant. This tradition is preserved by the Barars in a well known line, "*Bhallan chira phari Akbar Ka Darbar*" (Bhallan tore the turban in Akbar's Darbar).

The genealogy of the Faridkot State



Bhallan was appointed Chaudhari or headman of the tribe by the Delhi government. He was succeeded by his nephew, Kapura, who was a brave and able man. He won many victories over his neighbours the Bhattis and others. Among others he founded Kot Kapura, which soon became a place of considerable importance. He was a *Malguzar*, or tributary of

the Delhi emperor. There is in the Granth of Govind, Hikayat I; Bet 59, the following Persian couplet—

“Na Zarra daren reh khatra tarast

Hamah Kaum-i Barar hukm-i-marast”

(There is not the slightest danger for thee on this road, for the whole Barar race is under my command.) It was said when Guru Govind Singh visited him in 1704, and begged for his assistance against the Muhammadans.

Isa Khan, the owner of the fort and village of that name, was Kapura's great rival and enemy, and watched his growing importance with the utmost jealousy. The two chiefs had constant quarrels, resulting in much blood-shed, when Isa Khan failed by force, invited Kapura, feasted him in chivalrous fashion and assassinated him at the close of the banquet. At that time, in 1708, Kapura was eighty. He left three sons, Sukha, Sajja and Makhu, who determined to avenge their father's murder, attacked Isa Khan, defeated and killed him, and plundered his fort.

Sajja, the second son, succeeded his father as head of the family, but only survived him twelve years, when his brother Sukha Singh became chief. He added to his possessions the estates of Ranudatta, Behkhodla, Dharmkot, Karman and Mamdot, and founded the new village of Kot Sukha. Sukha died in 1731, aged 50, leaving three sons Jodh, Hamir and Vir. The three brothers embraced Sikhism.

Faridkot was assigned to Hamir Singh, and he was the first independent chief of Faridkot. His brother, Jodh Singh, in 1766, erected a new fort at Kot Kapura, and almost rebuilt the town; but his oppression was so great that the inhabitants left it, and the artisans, who had been renowned for their skill and industry, emigrated to Lahore, Amritsar and Patiala. Raja Amar Singh of Patiala marched to Kot Kapura in 1767, in which Jodh Singh was killed and his son Jit Singh mortally wounded. Jodh Singh was succeeded by his son, Tegh Singh. He avenged the death of his father. Hamir Singh joined him, but shortly afterwards quarrelled with his nephew and taking him prisoner, confined him in the Faridkot fort. At the intervention of the Phulkian chiefs, Tegh Singh was set free on the condition that he would never leave his town of Kot Kapura. Tegh Singh met a very tragical end, and so was the fate of his estate. The internal feuds led Maharaja Ranjit Singh to occupy it.

Hamir Singh died in 1782, and Mohar Singh succeeded him. The new chief was an incapable man, and paid no attention to the administration. His son, Charat Singh, according to the almost invariable practice of the family, rebelled against his father and imprisoned him. Mohar Singh died in exile in 1798. Dal Singh, an uncle of Charat Singh, attacked Faridkot in 1804. Charat Singh was killed and his wife and three children, Gulati Singh, Pahar Singh and Sahib Singh barely escaped with their lives. Dal Singh only enjoyed his success for a single month. The friends of the murdered chief plotted to assassinate. Fouja Singh, the brother of Charat Singh's wife, with a few armed men penetrated at night to the apartment of Dal Singh, where he was sleeping with two or three attendants, and killed him. Then they beat a drum, which was the signal for the friends of the young Gulab Singh to bring him into the fort. There he was declared chief without opposition. Diwan Mohkam Chand, a general of Ranjit Singh besieged Faridkot in the cold season of 1806-07, but failed to conquer it, but

on 26 September, 1808, Maharaja Ranjit Singh himself crossed Satlej with his whole army and sent forward an advance guard, to which Faridkot surrendered without resistance. It was only with the intervention of the British that on 3 April, 1809, Faridkot was restored to Gulab Singh and his brothers. On 5 November, 1826, Gulab Singh was assassinated. His four years old son Attar Singh, who succeeded him, died or murdered in 1827, and Pahar Singh was the legitimate heir. He was a liberal-minded and able man. He got help from the British and helped them in 1845, when the war with Lahore broke out. Pahar Singh died in April 1849, and was succeeded by his son Wazir Singh. He served on the side of the English during the second Sikh war of 1849, and during the war of Independence of 1857, seized several freedom fighters and made them over to the English authorities. He was a *Raj-bhakt* (loyal to English) and not *Desh Bhakt* (patriot) like other Panjab rulers of the day.

Supplement: Patiala

Lieutenant-General His Highness *Farzand-i-Khas Doulat-i-Inglishia, Mansur-ul-Zaman Amir-ul-Umra Maharajadhiraj Raj Rajeshwar Shri Maharaja-i-Rajgan* Sir Bhupinder Singh (Mohinder Bahadur Yadu Vanshavatans Bhatti Kul Bhushan, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., A.D.C.

Born in 1891, succeeded in 1900, and assumed the reins of Government in 1909, on attaining majority. He and his successors enjoy the distinction of exemption from presenting *Nazart* to the Viceroy in Durbar in perpetuity. The State possesses valuable forests and is rich in antiquities. One hundred and thirty-eight miles of broad gauge railway line have been constructed by the State at its own cost. H.H. maintains a contingent of two regiments of cavalry, and four battalions of Infantry, one Battery of Horse Artillery. One first grade college, primary education is free throughout the State. The State entered alliance with the British Government in 1809, helped the British Government in Gurkha war, Sikh war, Mutiny of 1857, Afghan war of 1878-79, Tirah and N.W.F. campaign of 1897. On the outbreak of the European war H.H. placed the entire resources of the State at the disposal of H.M. the King-Emperor and offered his personal services. Again in 1919 on the outbreak of hostilities with Afghanistan H.H. served personally on the Frontier on the Staff of the General officers commanding and the Imperial Services contingent saw active service towards Kohat and Qyetta Fronts. For his services on the N.W.F. His Highness was mentioned in despatches.

H.H. was selected by the Viceroy to represent the Ruling Princes of India at the Imperial war conferences and Imperial war cabinet in June 1918, and during his stay in Europe he paid visits to all the different and principal fronts in Belgium, France, Italy and Egypt (Palestine) and received the following decorations from the allied sovereigns and governments; Grand Cordon of the order de Loopold; Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour (France); Grand Cross of the order of the Crown of Italy; Grand Cordon of the order of the Nile; Grand Cross of the order of the Crown of Rumania, and Grand Cross of the order of the St. Saviour of Greece (1926). He represented the Indian Princes at the League of Nations in 1925, and was

elected Chancellor of the Chamber of Prince (Narendra Mandal). He was reelected in 1927-28-29-30. In 1930, he led the princes delegation to the Round Table Conference. Again elected Chancellor in 1933.

Area : 5,932 S. Miles Population : 16,25,520

Gross Income : One crore and fifty lakhs.

Personal Salute : 19 guns.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE JĀDAMA YĀDAVAS OF BRAJA JANAPADA

The Yādavas of Sindh and Punjab were compelled to leave the north-west frontiers of India and they had to seek shelter in Rajputana. The Gaurā (or Jādejā) Yādava—Rajputs embraced Islam. A branch of the Yādavas established 'Vijayamandirgarh' and Karauli States on the west of the Chambal river.¹ Sindhupāla, a scion of Vajranābha, grand son of Śrī Kṛṣṇa migrated from the Utkal *bhukti* and reestablished a kingdom in the Śaurasena (Braja) *bhukti*.² The Mungher and Khalimpur *Praśastis* state that the Yādavas ruled in the vicinity of Mathura in the eighth century and they were the rulers under the suzerainty of Kānyakubja (Kanauja) rulers.³ The Gurjara-Pratihāra empire of Kānyakubja began to decay in the tenth century and as a result thereof many chieftains became independent rulers. This political instability provided an opportunity to Rksapāla, who was in the sixth generation from Śindhupāla, to make Mathura his capital in A.D. 879 (V.S. 936). He was succeeded by his son Brahamapāla.⁴ His son and successor, Jayandrapāla was a famous warrior, who established a Yādava - *panchayati* state⁵ in the vicinity of Agra⁶ in A.D. 966-992. His successor was Śāntapāla (A.D. 993-1020). Perhaps Kulachand was one of his sons and he was the brother of Vijayapāla.⁷ He faced and resisted Mahmud Ghazanvi and demonstrated the valour and prowess of the Yādavas⁸ in the battlefield of Mahavana.

Parama Bhaṭṭaraka Mahārājadhirāja Vijayapāla (1030-1049 A.D.)

The political sovereignty of the Kachhavāha Rajputs was destroyed by the invasions of Sultan Mahmud Ghazanvi. The states of Mathura, Vṛndavana, Mahavana, Agra, Kanauja,

1. Tod, Vol. I, pp. 72-3, *Arch. Survey*, 20/5-6.
2. Baldev Singh (MSS), p. 5, Brookman, 29; *Imperial Gazetteer*, 15/26, According to *Archaeological Survey* 20/6. Dharmapala Jadaun Rajput was born in the 77th(?) generation of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the eighth century who suffixed Pāla with his name.
3. *AI*, Khalimpur, 4/243; Mungher, 18/304. Tripathi, R.S. *History of Kanauja*, pp. 216-230.
4. Gaholt, J.S., *op. cit.*, p. 597.
5. Baldev Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 5; *Vakya Rajasthan*, 2/34; Brookman, 316-7.
6. *Tarikhe Doudi*, p. 42; *Tujuke Jehangiri*, 1/4.
7. *Brij Ka Sanskritik Itihas*, 1966, p. 68.
8. *Tarikhe Yamini* 2/42-46; *Tahkate Akbari* 10; *AI Badauni* 22-25; *Frieshta* 2/459-61; Ashirvadi Lal, *Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 39-48.

etc. had to suffer badly in A.D. 1018. The citizens of these areas had to flee and take shelter in the jungles of Charamanyavati Mandal or in the Bhadanak Pradesh. Probably many Yādava families had acquired *Jamindaris* in the Bhadanak Pradesh prior to this invasion. Vijayapāla, the glorious son of Śāntapāla,⁹ occupied the Bhadanak Pradesh and the Śrī Prasth fort in the third decade of eleventh century (c. 1023 A.D.).

He had eleven sons: Vijayapala, Ratnapala, Naharapala, Sonapala, Anandapala, Bhavanapāla, Kacchapala, Devapala, Bhanupala, Mahipala, Bharatapala. The Santipur - Sri Prastha fort was got renovated in C. 1030, and the capital was founded on the outskirts of Śonitagiri (Damdana) after building 'Vijayamandirgadh', the fort-wall, the palace, temple, etc.¹⁰ Vijayapala had the title of *Parama Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhiraja Paramesvara* as mentioned in the *Igaṇodā (Malava) Praśasti* of 1133 A.D. Though his regnal period is uncertain, yet the stone-inscriptions of Vijayamandirgadh (A.D. 1043/V.S. 1100) and Iganoda (A.D. 1133) are quite important.¹¹ According to Cunningham, the king had made his capital safe and the state strong by establishing many other forts, in addition to Vijayamandirgadh, Madangadh, Tavangadh—Thanagadh in south;¹² Bijalpur, near Jaganer; in Ritavara, six miles south of Bhusāvar, etc. Karmna (Kaman), Tribhuvangiri (Tavangadh), Dhavalapapuri (Dhaulpur), Madhura (Mathura), Bairāṭha (Matsya), Dyausa (Dausa) etc. were important and prominent towns and forts in the Vijayamandirgadh state. Its frontiers were up to the eastern part of the river Yamuna in the east, Banas and Ranthambor beyond Maurel, Khander and Dhundhād (territory up to Jaipur) in the west, Gurgaon of modern Haryana in the north, and up to Sahalagadh, 50 km beyond Chambal in the south.¹³ He made his kingdom strong by establishing marital relations with the neighbouring states.¹⁴ He had a big army of about one lakh consisting of elephants, horses, Camels, chariots and infantry. Vijayapala was a religious person with literary mind and national king. His was a patron of poets, and honoured Narapati Nalla Sinha, the author of '*Vijayapala Raso*' by giving many villages of Hindon, elephants, horses and boundless money.¹⁵ He himself was a Śaiva and the Vaisnavism was the state religion. The glory and bravery of the Yādava (or Jādam) king attracted many *Digambar* and *Svetambar* Jain Acharyas and Jain businessmen to make the capital their permanent abode. According to the *Khyats* of Karauli, Vijayapala had many successful encounters with the Turks of Ghajani in which the Jadam forces came out successfully. It may be possible that he helped the Tanwars of Delhi and the Chauhans of Śakambhari against the Turks to defend the motherland.

Mahārāja Tihunapāla : According to Carlie, Vijayapāla had two sons—Tihunapāla and R̥tupāla, and one daughter, named Bijala. Tihunapala succeeded his father and adopted the title of *Parama Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhiraja*,¹⁶ but he had to spend 12 years exile leaving

9. Brookman, *op.cit.*, p. 317; *Jat Jagat*, p.10; *Vākya Rajasthan*, 2/34.

10. *Imperial Gazetteer*, 7/137; *Arch Survey*, 6/54, 20/6, 62; Gahlot, *op.cit.*, p. 597.

11. *IA*, inscriptions, Vol. VI, 55; XIV, 9-10.

12. About 22 K.M. south of Vijayamandirgadh and at the same distance from Hindown in East.

13. *Arch. Survey*, 20/3 (Introduction); *Imperial Gazetteer*, 15/26; Gahlot, *op.cit.*, p. 600.

14. *Arch. Survey*, 6/54.

15. *Kaviratnamālā*, p. 23; Sharma, U.N., *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

16. *IA*, 6/55; Gahlot, *op.cit.*, p. 600.

Vijayamandiragadh' perhaps, due to the successful extension policy of Amoraja Chauhan ruler. When Chauhan Vighraharaja IV became the ruler, Tihunapala became successful to again obtain his lost empire with the help of an ascetic.¹⁷ He made Tavanagadh his capital.¹⁸ Perhaps Achutyadhvaja and Brahmanath Yogis helped him to return to power.¹⁹ He established matrimonial relations with the Tanwar and Gurjar Rajputs by taking their daughters. According to the '*Vṛta Vilasa*', Tihunapala performed *Asvamedha Yajna*.²⁰ He had Dharmapala, Harpala, Chandrapala, Sonapala (Sangramapala), Madanapala, Bandhapala, Śerapala, Abhaipala, etc. twelve sons.²¹ Tihunapala impressed by the valour of Harapala, the second son, made him the ruler of the Jadam throne,²² Dharmapala, the elder son was made the ruler of Dhaulpur. But after the death of Tihunapala, Dharmapala defeated Harapala and occupied Vijayamandiragadh and Tavanagadh. His descendants laid the foundation of the Karauli state. The scions of Chandrapala came to be known as Kachhava Yādavas. The scions of Sonapala founded the Bichhor state. The descendants of Madanapala founded the Bharatpur state in the 18th century.²³ Bandhupala took refuge in the hills of Kaman, and his descendants came to be known as Khanjadas of Mewat.²⁴

After the demise of Dharmapala in A.D. 1112, his elder son Kanwarapala I, and then Ajayapala, Haripala, Sahanapala and Kunwarapala II, respectively, sat on the Yādava throne.²⁵ Muhmad Ghori himself, under the command of Qutubuddin Aibak and Sahabuddin Tugharil, successfully invaded the forts of Vijayamandiragadh, Tavanagadh, Kanwaragadh, Zhiri, etc., and occupied these forts in A.D. 1195. Kanwarapala took shelter with his maternal uncle at Andhera Kotila (near Riva).²⁶ Bahauddin, the Turk commander, established the power of the slave dynasty. The Yādavas did not accept the authority of these Turks and they kept wandering from pillar to post in search of identity.²⁷

Sūye, Kanhardeva, Biradeva, Bastapala and Śuhaaradeva (Soharadeva) were the five sons of Maharaja Tihunapala. This family sought and received help from other Yādava families settled in the north-western part of the area. In order to achieve its lost glory and state it began to invade and loot the Turk territory.²⁸ Ultimately they settled in the vicinity for good.

17. Is it not a strong coincidence that most of the Yādava ruler, e.g., the Bhaṭṭis of Jaisalmer, the Hoysala's of Karnataka, the Yādavas of Devgiri, the rulers of Patiala, etc., were helped by the ascetics to achieve their kingdoms.

18. *Vāckyā Rajasthan*, 2/35; Gahlot, *op.cit.*, p. 599.

19. *Arch. Survey*, 20/90.

20. Ojha, *Nibandha Sangraha* 3 and 4/1.

21. *Vāckyā Rajasthan* 2/35 and Dikshit (p. 2) mention only 5 names. The Yadava Thakurs of Bulandshahr consider themselves the scions of Śerapala and Abhaipala.

22. Gahlot, *op.cit.*, p. 600.

23. Brookman, *op.cit.*, p. 29; *Arch Survey*, Vol.20, p. 7.

24. *Arch. Survey*, Vol.20, p. 10.

25. *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 561.

26. *Arch Survey*, Vol. 20, pp. 7, 62, 89. *Imp. Gazetteer*, Vol. 15, p. 26.

27. *Arch. Survey*, Vol. 20, p. 10. Madanlal settled and died in village Sinsini (Brookman, 317), whereas Odayar (3/25) etc. say that Sūye Thakur settled in that village.

28. Brookman, *op.cit.*, p. 317.

Some time in the first decade of the thirteenth century, a big group of the Yādava Thakurs, under the leadership of Sūye Thakur camped in the wild jungles between modern Deeg and Kumher near a village named Usarāni.²⁹ According to the available information the Chandra Rajputs were settled in this area. Sūye Thakur started his career as a dacoit and soon after he became the chief of the area or compelled the owners to leave their hearths and homes. As a result of this he became the master of the *Chaurasi*—eighty four villages. He got constructed a mud-fort at the Sinsini village,³⁰ and his descendants came to be known as the Sinsiniwar Jats later on.

The other party escaped with Kanhardeva and encamped in the dense forests on the bank of Gambhiri river, on the west of Bharatpur city at Sevar. These Yādavas displaced the Dangar agriculturists and occupied their lands and jungles and from that place they spread to the vicinity. Sugriva, one warrior, was born in this family who established a village Sogar. The Yādavas of this village became known as Sogar Jats.

Biradeva settled in the *doah* and founded the Navgaon village, whose descendants came to be known as Hagā Jats. Bastapal settled the Mandaur village in Agra province and his descendants were called Ghanihar Jats and the fifth brother Suvardeva (or Sohvardev) settled in village Khoh.

Balachand was born in the fourth generation of Sūye Thakur. Till Balachand they were known as the Yādava Thakurs or the Yādava Rajputs, after him they came to be known as Sinsinwar Jats. The Yādava was of Balachand could not give him any issue. One day, a Jat damsel was going with her husband from Holdal to Hindaun, Balachand kidnapped her and put her in the Sinsini village as his wife. Their progeny was not accepted by the other Yādavas as their equal, also they came to be known as Sinsinwar Jats.

The Yādava-Rulers of Karauli

Śindhupāla made Mathura his capital in A.D. 879 (V.S. 936) and founded an independent State of the Yādavas. His elder son, Brahamapala succeeded him at Mathura, while his younger son Vinayapala, became the ruler of Mahobegarh.³¹ Vijayapala had eleven (or eighteen) sons, of whom Tihunapala or Timanapala was the eldest. He lost his father and the kingdom in A.D. 1046 in battle against Abu Bakara Kandhari. Tihunapala succeeded to obtain his lost empire with the help of an ascetic, and constructed a fort and his capital. Dharmapala, after the death of Tihunapala, occupied Vijayamandiragadh and became the ruler. After the death of Dharmapala in A.D. 1112, his elder son Kanwarapala I succeeded him, then his progeny—Ajayapala, Haripala, Śahanapala and Kanwarapala II ruled the kingdom. The last named ruler had to take shelter in Andhera Kotila (near Riva). According

29. 8 Km north-west of Kumher, 16 Km north-west of Bharatpur, Brookman, *Ibid*.

30. According to Desraj (pp. 553-628; and *Jat Jagat*, p. 11), the old name of Siasine was Sursaini. But U.N. Sharma (*op.cit.*, p. 64) does not accept this.

31. For details, see, *the Jadam-Yadavas of Braja Janapada*.

to the available sources, Dhugaladeva, son of Prithvipala (grandson of Kanwarapala II) occupied Timunagadh in V.S. 1350 (A.D. 1293).

Arjunadeva, the elder son of Dhugaladeva, restored the lost glory of the dynasty by conquering the MandarayaI fort in A.D. 1327. He founded Karauli in V.S. 1405 (A.D. 1348). He had two sons—Vikramajit and Todarmal, the latter died issueless. But there was no significant ruler. Their position was no better than a Jagirdar in the area. Their succession list is also not clear.

After the death of Abhaichand, grandson (daughter's son) of Arjunadeva, his son Prithvipala II, sat on the throne of Karauli. Timanagadi was under the occupation of the Afghans at that time. Prithvipala successfully thwarted the invasion of Manasinha Tomar, the ruler of Gwalior, during that period, but he could not succeed in punishing the Mascha Meenas.³²

The MandarayaI fort and Paragana was occupied by the British government in India as a result of animosity between the brothers, and the Paragana of Māsalpur was given in exchange. The Karauli area was conquered by Mahmud Khilji, the ruler of Mālava, in 1454 A.D., and his son, Phidavi Khan was ruling the area. This compelled Udai Chand, son of Prithvipala, to occupy the fort of Utagiri in c. 1480 A.D., which remained in the possession of the Jadams in 15th and 16th centuries. Their rule was confined to the vicinity of this fort during this period.

According to the local historians, Pratapsuddh came to power in 1452 V.S. (A.D. 1395). He married three queens—Pawar, Śisodia and Bredagujar who had three sons—Chandrasen, Sundersahai and Rathbhan—respectively. Chandrasen was consecrated at Timanagadh, but he opted to live in Utagiri due to its safe and peaceful situation. He succeeded to throne in V.S. 1506 or A.D. 1449. We are informed that Chandresen came to throne at the age of 122 years (born in V.S. 1384). He was a person with religious bent of mind, that is why was unsuccessful in the battlefield, and as a result thereof retreated to the lone fort of Utagiri instead of Karauli. It is also described in the local history books that Gopaldas, the grandson of Chandrasen laid the foundation stone of the Agra fort. The incident is described like this: Akbar, the Mughal emperor, wanted to build his capital at Agra in stead of Fatehpur Sikari. He started the construction work on the bank of Yamuna river, but all efforts failed to start construction work as whatever construction was done in the day time was washed away by Yamuna at night. The emperor got annoyed. Scholars and astrologers advised him to get the foundation stone laid by some scion of Yadu so that Yamuna might do no harm to the foundation. After long deliberations, the name of the Rajah of Karauli was suggested to the emperor. The latter approached Chandresen, with paraphernalia. The Rajah was busy in meditation when Akbar reached. When the king was informed of the presence of Akbar, the former had a glance by removing the eye brows with his both hands. Akbar was astonished to see the magnificent face of the Rajah. The emperor was received with respect. The latter

32. Habib and Otkes, *Delhi Sultanate*, op.cit., p. 831.

requested the Rajāh to help him by laying the foundation stone of the fort. Expressing his physical incapability, the Rajah sent his grandson Gopaldas to perform this religious duty. Gopaldas laid the foundation stone of the fort. Akbar gave the area of Machalpur as a gift to Gopaldas in return of his services rendered in south India and laying the foundation stone of the fort.³³

Chandrasen succeeded the throne of Karauli after the demise of Pratapruddh. No historian had clarified the point that whose son was Charidrasen? Perhaps he was a son of Dhugaldev. Secondly, nothing definite can be said about his progeny also. Bharati Chandra may not be his son. Bharati Chandra had three sons: Gopaldas, Pratapdas and Khanderao. Bharati Chander succeeded Chandrasen and passed away after one year rule. After him Gopaldas ran the administration under the guidance of his grandfather. The *Tahkate Akbari* describes him as a *Manasabdar* of 2000. The *Khyats* of Karauli also confirm this fact. He ruled for 35 years, and had three sons— Dwarkadas, Mukatdas and Tulsandas.

Dwarkadas was consecrated in the fort of Bahadurpur in V.S. 1636 (A.D. 1579). The Yādavas from far and wide were invited on this occasion. He was blessed with seven sons:

Pratap Singh succeeded his father after latter's death, but abdicated in favour of his younger brother Mukanddas who came to throne at Bahadurpur in A.D. 1584. The third son, Magadrai, is known as 'Pancavir Yādava', and is worshipped as a god. Śardula, the fourth son, became the master of Jakhoda (Mandarayal), whereas nothing is known of Salesahai and Balibahadur, the fifth and sixth sons. Haridas, the seventh son, founded Hamagar. The sixteen *Kotharis* belonging to his successors are still in the Karauli Tehsil. Some of his successors migrated to Śahalgadh area and are known as Jadaun or Jadam Thakurs. They consider themselves some what superior to other Yādava-Ahirs of the area. They have no marital relations with other Yādavas except their own group. They are divided in various gotra-clans; such as, Bhati, Chauhan, Rathore, Śisodia, etc.

Jagamani, son of Mukand Das, was in the service of Shahjahan as a *mansabdar*, and his son Chhattaramani served Aurangzeb.³⁴ Chhattaramani's daughter, Jasakunwar, was married to Jaswant Sinha, the ruler of Marwar, whose son was Ajit Sinha. Dharmapal II, son of Chhattaramani, got himself consecrated at the place which later on came to be known as Karauli in V.S. 1707 (A.S. 1650). Ratanpal and Kunwarpal II succeeded on the throne. The scions of Tulsandas, son of Gopaldas, settled at Bahadurpur. Dharmapaldas reigned for about 21 years. He had seven sons :

Ratanpal, who succeeded his father, Kirtipal was killed by the Yādavas of Mukand is *Jagirfeuds*. Jaspal became the *Jagirdar* of Jaspura. Bhojapal was a *Thikanedar* of Ramathara, later on his younger brother Gumanpal succeeded him. Hemapal got constructed the fort of Śapotara. Prayagpal, the youngest brother, became the *Subedar* of Jawahargadh and Sapotara with his brother Jaspal after the death of Hemapal.

33. *Medico Topographical Gazetteer*, p. 302.

34. Garg, Damodarlal, *Karauli-Itihas*, p. 71.

Gopal Sinha (V.S. 1781-1814, A.D. 1724-1757). He succeeded his father Dharmapal II. He took the help of Naga sadhus to construct a strong fort at Karauli and annexed Śābalgadh. According to '*Vira Vinoda*', he expanded his rule from Sabālgadh to Sikarvada, which is situated 8 K.M. from Gwalior. Later on, he annexed Vijayapur and defeating Muktavats of Jhiri and Śaramathura, included these areas in the state. He was very fond of constructing buildings, and he constructed Gopal mandir, *Aam - Khas*, *Tripolia*, *Nakkarakha* and in front of it, a new temple of Kalyanrai. The people enjoyed peace and harmony and the state was free of dacoity and theft. The state was divided into twelve parganas or subdivisions which consisted of 697 villages. Yadunath, the poet, wrote his *Vrt Vilasa* in the reign of Gopal Sinha, which gives the genealogy of the Yādava rulers.

This king participated in a conference of the rulers of Rajasthan in V.S. 1791, which was convened to dissolve the internal feuds of different States of Rajasthan. But the conference failed to achieve its goal due to internal differences. Consequent upon this, the Marathas began to collect *Chautha* (one-fourth) from the rulers of this province in V.S. 1795 (A.D. 1738). Ranoji Sindhia attacked Karauli in the times of Gopal Sinha. The latter entered in a treaty with the Marathas and promised to pay Rs. 13,000 annually.

Gopal Sinha ruled for 32 years and passed away in February, 1757. A canopy (Chhatari) was erected at the place of his cremation, which is still worshipped by the people of the area.

Turasana Pal (V.S. 1814-1829, A.D. 1757-1772), a cousin of Gopal Sinha, succeeded the latter. He came out successful in a battle with the Śikarawars on the banks of Qawari river. He tried his best to maintain the dignity of his elders, but added nothing new to the state.

Manaka Pal (V.S. 1829-1861, A.D. 1772-1804) succeeded his father Turasanapal on October 24, 1772. He defeated Rodji Sindhiā who was killed at Rampura. Later on Nawab Hamadani made an attack on his fort and palace, but the state forces successfully drove away the enemy.

Harabaksapal (V.S. 1861-1894, A.D. 1804-1837) succeeded his father Manakapal after the demise of his father and elder brother Amolakapal. In 1812 A.D., Dadai Khan and Ranamasta Khan of Jaipur plundered Masalpur. Mohamad Khan was defeated by the Thakurs of Manchi in his attack on Karauli. The Yādava ruler had to sign a treaty with the Marathas and was forced to Rs. 25000 per annum; later on he had to part away with Masalpur along with other villages. As a result of these regular assaults from different sides on the state, the ruler of Karauli was compelled by the circumstances to join hands with the British East India Company on 15 November, 1817. The treaty was signed by the Rajah and C.T. Metcalfe and Hastings (on behalf of the company), and ratified by the governor-general of the company. This was a treaty of perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interest between the British government on the one hand and the Rajah of Kerowlee and his descendants on the other". "The British Government took under its protection the dominions of the Rajah of Kerowlee." The Rajah acknowledged the supremacy of and would cooperate with the British government for ever.³⁵

35. Atchinson, *The Treaties, Engagements and Sanads* Vol.III, pp. 284-85.

Pratapa Pal (A.D. 1837-1850) became the ruler after the demise of Harabaksapal in 1837, who was issueless. He was the son of Rao Amirpal of Hadoti and grandson of Jawaharpal. Pratapapal had to face internal trouble and was forced to flee from Karauli, and took shelter at Mandarayal. The British government reinstated Pratapapal and pacified the feud in 1840 A.D. He died without a son.

Narasinhapal of Hadoti became the ruler of Karauli and he also died issueless on June 10, 1852. The state was under heavy debt since the time of Pratapapal. The British government appointed a Deputy Magistrate to look into its affairs.

Bharatapal (A.D. 1853-1854) was a near relative of Narasinhapal whom he wanted to adopt. On the other hand the Rao of Hadoti claimed to be the king of Karauli on the plea that "whosoever is the Rao of Hadoti, is the king of Karauli." Both parties were making best efforts to get the throne. Lord Dalhousie annexed the state due to the 'policy of lapse'. The Diwan of the state, Baluram, was pleading the case of state, in the mean time Bharatapal passed away, and the state came under the political control of the British political Agent.

The application of the state for the right to adopt was accepted by the court of directors of the company, because the state of Karauli was not a subordinate state, but was a friendly protected state under the treaty of A.D. 1817. Thus the right of adoption was recognised by the company on March 11, 1862. Madanapal, the Rao of Hadoti became the ruler of Karauli on March 14, 1854 under the permission of the British council. Like other ruler of India, Madanapal also sided with the British rulers in 1857. This was a black chapter of the history of the state. The British government, in return, wrote off all debt of the state and the ruler was granted a salute of 17 guns in place of 15 guns, and decoration of G.C.S.I. This was the price.

He was a spendthrift and landed the state into debt. He took loan from the British government to save his subjects dying of hunger in the famine in 1868. The '*Madanapal Raso*' was composed in his regnal period. It describes the battle of Kota. It also narrates the coming of Swami Dayanand, the founder of Arya Samaj, in Karauli, who spend most of his time in studying Vedas and discussing religious matters with the king of Karauli. Madanapal breathed his last on August 17, 1869, issueless and left the state under heavy debt.

Jayapala Sinha of Hadoti was declared the successor of the state by the political Agent in January, 1871. The ruler took keen interest in the welfare of the subjects and did welfare works, such as construction of the roads, etc. He died issueless on January 17, 1875.

Arjunapal (1875-1886), the Rao of Hadoti, became the ruler of Karauli on January 31, 1876; in spite of opposition from some Thakurs of the state. The Rao concluded a treaty with the British government on January 23, 1882, and as amended on April 8, 1882. The Rao took keen interest in the welfare of his subjects. He established a new hospital and new roads constructed. Due to internal feuds and mal-administration the state was taken over by the British Government in 1879. The Rao breathed his last in September, 1886 after ruling for 10 years and 8 months. He died issueless.

Bhanwarapal (A.D. 1886-1927), was the son of Durjanpal, younger brother of Arjunapal, and was born on February 24, 1864. In spite of stiff opposition of Sajjanpal, he was made the Rao of Hadoti in A.D. 1876. Though the British government wanted him to be educated at Mayo college, Ajmer, yet due to the backwardness of the family he was deprived of the

opportunity. On August 14, 1886, he was declared the ruler of Karauli and was given all right to govern on June 7, 1889. He was married six times, and had some keeps also. But he remained issueless. The Rao was very fond of lions and lion-hunting. He always used to keep two tigers with himself, and took these two with himself even at the time of Delhidurbarbin 1903. He was a scholar of Hindi, Sanskrit and English, and established a library which contained a number of good books. He also respected scholars and encouraged them by giving protection and scholarship. He himself composed a poetry book— '*Bhanwar Vani*'. He looked after his subjects well and encouraged indigenous sports in the state by giving prizes, etc. Like other rulers, he was also a supporter of the British government, the latter awarded the titles of G.C.S.I. and K.C.S.I. in A.D. 1894 and 1897 respectively.

There was a severe famine in 1905-06. The Maharaja took pains to see that no one died of hunger, managed for the employment, work and grains for the people and fodder for the cattle. As many as 124, 929 persons, including women and children were given work under the famine relief work, but the most noticeable features of the financial administration of the period was that the state Treasury was almost empty, and the liabilities were increasing by means of fresh loan chiefly due to bad administration and famine. "The servants of the state were not regularly paid. A people's movement was started in the time of Bhanwarpal. Like other states forced labour (*begar*) was a curse of the state. Even children were also employed in it, Kanwar Madan Sinh led the movement against this injustice. The state repression was let loose on the freedom fighters also. Bad company of some people in the service of Maharaja was the cause of it. He was neither a farsighted ruler nor a disciplined person. The Rao died issueless on August 3, 1927 (Sravana Sudi 6, V.S. 1984).

Bhaumapal (A.D. 1927-1947), the younger brother of Maharaja Bhanwarpal, became the ruler in 1927 at a very old age. He handed over all administration to his son Ganeshpal and devoted his time in praying. He abolished tuition fee in the schools, helped poor people, brahmans, widows, poor virgins, made Hindi as the state language in place of Urdu. He separated police department from judiciary and applied the theory of 'separation of powers' in his state. He took keen interest in the welfare works, solved the problem of Hindu-Muslim feuds with sagacity and deftness. He was also a very good hunter and lions were his prey.

Ganeshpal succeeded his father in the year India attained freedom. So he was the last ruler of the Yādava state. He was educated at Mayo College, Ajmer. Freedom movement could not be suppressed in the state despite the best efforts of the ruler. Padam Sinh, Onkar Sinh, Narayan Sinh, Kalyan Prasad, Munshi Trilok Chand, Parsadi Lal, Ram Sinh, Harahet-lal and Kishan Prasad, etc. were the leaders of the movement. Feeling the pulse of the yuvaraj Vrajendra associated himself with the movement and became a people's leader. He represented the state in the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly for two decades. He died at the age of 57 on August 9, 1983. His younger brother, Surender Pal, the Rao of Hadoti, also died at the age of 45 on May 24, 1982 by a car-accident on way to Karauli from Jaipur.

The erstwhile state of Karauli was situated on the eastern border of the contemporary Rajasthan between 26.3 and 26.4, the Latitude and, 76.35 and 77.26 longitude, on the Vindhyacl range in district Swai Madhopur. At present Karauli is a sub-division of this district. River Chambal flows on its south-east and the district of Gwalior makes its boundary

with Karauli, in the west in Jaipur, and is surrounded by Bharatpur, Dholapur and their areas in the north and north-east. Before independence it was known as Karauli Rajputana or "Danga Karauli". 'Dunga' denoting its situation on the hill. Geographically this area is hilly and uneven terrain, only one top-hill being about 400 meters from the sea-level. There is no beauty spot in the hills, they form a wall between Mandrayal, Karnapur, etc. and Karauli and separates it on the south side. The whole area was inaccessible, which was kept in mind while founding this kingdom and its capital or other prominent cities of this kingdom. The ruler took no interest in laying down the roads or providing other means of communication or transportation to the public. Even the rulers opposed the construction of railway line in their state when an opportunity was offered by the then British government. As a result of this whole area is backward till today. Its area was about 1220 sq. miles and its population was more than 1 1/2 lac (1,56,786) at that time.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE AHIR KINGDOM OF REWARI

Rewari, the kingdom of Ahirs (Yādavas), flourished in the cultural region of *Ahirwal*—the 'land of Ahirs'—to the southwest of Delhi, for about 140 years (1717 to 1857). *Ahirwal* is the region dominated by Ahirs who speak a dialect called 'Ahiri', 'Ahirani' or 'Ahirwati',¹ which has been described closer to the northeastern variation of Rajasthani. The boundaries of Ahirwal changed over time, but roughly it included the northern and western portions of Gurgaon district, whole of Rewari and Mahendragarh districts, and portions of Rohtak and Bhiwani districts of Haryana and the *parganas* of Bahrod, Mundavar, Tijara, Kotkasim, northern portions of Sikar and Jhunjunu districts of Rajasthan. In earlier times we find the Ahirs or the ancient Ābhiras settled on the banks of river Sarasvati which once flowed near Kurukshetra.² They were the masters of the Sarasvati—Drasadvati region which was very important due to its geopolitical situation. It constituted the gateway to the citadel of the Gangetic valley, formed by the Himalayas in the north and the Aravallis in the south, with the great desert of Rajasthan, prolonged seaward by the salty and tidal marsh of the Rāṇa of Kutch in the west. The land between the north-eastern extremity of the desert and the foot of the Himalayas below Śimala provides a passage from the north-west which leads to the entrance of the Gangetic plain at Delhi on the Yamuna. Naturally, therefore, this gateway was the key to the security of the north Indian plain and on its defence had depended the independence of the country for ages immemorial.³ So far the Yādava-Ahirs had been the masters of this region the independence of the country was intact and safe from the foreign invasions, but as soon as their might and influence eclipsed, the country lost its independence, wealth and honour. It is significant to note that this region is littered with ancient battle fields like Kurukshetra, Taraori, Panipat, Kunjpura and Karnal where the fate of India continued to be decided for centuries. Whosoever overran this region became the ruler of India. In politics, and history too, Haryana has been the trend-setter in India. Coming events

1. Grierson, G.A., *Linguistic Survey of India*, 1916, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 3, 43, 49-51.

2. *Mbh. Sabhā Parva*, B.O.R.I., Poona, 1943, XXIX, Śloka 9, Mirashi, V.V., *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 311.

3. *Haryana : Studies in History and Politics*, edited by J.N. Singh Yadav, Gurgaon, 1976, 'Glimpses of Ancient Haryana', Buddha Prakash, pp. 1-2.

cast their shadows in Hariyana. Indian traditions regard the region as the matrix of creation and civilization.

Sudas is said to have defeated a confederacy of the Ajas, Yakṣus and Sigrus on the Yamuna⁴ in this region and an assemblage of the Yadu—Turuvaṣus, Bhrigus, Druhyus, Pakthas, Bhalanas, Alinas, Śivas, Viṣṇins, Purus and Aṇus, led by Simyu, Purodas, Puruktsa, Kavaṣa, etc. On the Ravi,⁵ and ranked as the undisputed emperor of the *Sapta-Sindhu* region. This also proves the presence and settlement of the Yadus or Yādavas as a political power in this region. Paurāṇiykā tradition ascribes the virtual reclamation of the Sarasvati-Drisadvati region to the Kurus, and that is why the land was called Kurushetra. But the name Hariyana or Haryana is a more probable etymology of *Abhirāyaṇa* - Ahirāyaṇa-Hirāyaṇā-Hariyāṇa - Haryana,⁶ that is abode of Ahirs. It is not necessary for any caste to be numerically strong to give its name to any place, but it should be strong in influence, that is politically strong or its rulers to give its name.

We do not find Ahirkingdoms or Ahir kings in this region in the hoary past, but the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta conspicuously mentions their political sway in this region. It proves their democratic political system in which they were independent and had *panchayat* (parliamentary) set up on the basis of equality of individual. The remnants of the system is still prevalent in not only in this caste but in all castes of Haryana in inter and intra caste relations. Perhaps Haryana is the only state in India where the norm of equality is so much in practice where Brahman is not considered sacred and thus socially very high and nor a member of Scheduled caste so low as to be despised by anyone, though caste distinction is observed in matrimonial alliances and other social customs, yet equality in other matters is conspicuous. Every Ahir considers, and is considered by others, equal to any other Yādava-Ahir. The only criteria, if it all, may be age, but when they assemble in any assembly to discuss and decide upon any matter, all Ahirs present in the assembly are equal in status to vent their thought. They do not regard anybody their permanent leader, and at times fail to take collective decisions. As they had been the staunch supporters of the democratic system they also influenced their neighbours and other castes of Haryana.

Continuous onslaughts from north-west compelled them either to leave the central Haryana or to lose their identity and to assimilate in other castes and religions. Either they became Boddha, Muslim or Sikh. A great number of them residing in southern-eastern Haryana embraced Islam as their religion, but did not abandon their *yādavi* culture. They still profess to be proud of their origin and swear by Kṛṣṇa. Majority of Meos of Mewat are a conspicuous example of it.

4. *Rg.*, VII, 18, 19.

5. *Ibid.*, VII, 18, 8-13

6. Cf., for instance, Ahirjokhari - Hirajokhari - Rajokhari - Rajohkari an Ahir village on south Delhi - Haryana border).

The Rewari Kingdom

The Rewari kingdom of Ahirs was founded by one Rūda or Rura Singh of village Surheda in Delhi in the times of Humayu in c. 16th century.⁷ The ruler was pleased with some adventurous act of Rūda and granted some areas surrounding Rewari city. Rūda Singh settled village Bolani for himself and two or three other villages for his own men. Later on, he succeeded in obtaining the governing rights of the area. His son Ram Singh or Ramoji was superior to his father in every respect. He helped the Delhi kingdom to maintain peace and order in the vicinity of Rewari in eradicating the menace of dacoits in the area. Akbar was pleased enough to grant a *Jagir* of Rewari to Ram Singh, the latter got a small fortress in Bolani for protection. Man Singh, the court historian of Rao Tula Ram, informs that Ram Singh got the *Sardari* and *Jagir* of Bolani due to the influence and recommendation of Rao Durg Mal, *Amir-ul-umra Panj hazari* of Ahirjokhari of Jhagadolia clan and a relative of Ram Singh, who was courtier of emperor Akbar.⁸

Ram Singh, after his death, was succeeded by his eldest son, Shahabaz Singh who died in capturing Hathi Singh Badgujar,⁹ a dacoit of village Badsahpur in district Gurgaon. Nand Ram succeeded his father Shahabaz Singh. Being pleased with the military services of Nand Ram, Farrukhasiyar (1713-19), the Mughal king, granted him a *Jagir* of 360 villages around Rewari. The emperor also legitimized his supremacy over the region by conferring upon him the title of the *chowdhari*. Thus with the grace of the Mughals, Nand Ram became a small ruler of Rewari. According to the gazetteer of the Gurgaon district, 1883-84 (Lahore, 1884) Nand Ram rose to royal favour in the time of Aurangzeb (p.22). However, according to Foreign Miscellaneous documents the grant of a *Jagir* was made during the reign of Farrukhsiyar.¹⁰ Man Singh, however, mentions V. Samvat 1756 (A.D. 1699) when Nand Ram was granted the title of *Chowdhari* by Aurangzeb.¹¹

Nand Ram shifted from Bolani (12 Kilometres in south from Rewari) to Rewari where he built a palace and about 8,000 houses. He also had wells dug and gardens laid out. He settled his military force, his clan members, Brahmans and other service and artisan castes. He also settled the cultivators from his and other castes in the villages, and made arrangements for irrigation by wells. He was thus a fortunate warrior to found a small State by the use of force and wit. Thus the capital town in Rewari began to rise, and the rural hinterland was manned by members of his own and other classes of Ahirs. Other cultivating castes such as the Jats, Gujars, and Rajputs and other artisan and serving castes were in a minority. He also settled one village Nandrapurbas (of Ahirs near Dharuheada) in east of Rewari.

Death of Nand Ram : Man Singh and K.C. Yadav do not see eye to eye with each other with regard to the time and date of the death of Nand Ram. Man Singh tells us that Nand Ram

7. Man Singh, *Abhirkul Dipika*, p. 107.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

10. National Archives of India, *Foreign Miscellaneous*, No. 123, 1880. See also Yādav, K.C., *Ahirwal Ka Itihas* (Hindi), 1967, p. 47.

11. Man Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

died in V.S. 1770 (A.D. 1713) at Rewari,¹² but according to *Foreign Miscellaneous*, Nand Ram lost his life fighting a notorious dacoit Hathi Singh Badgujar of Ghaseda in V.S. 1771 (A.D. 1714), after ruling efficiently for 23 years.¹³ He was cremated in 'Inderban Bagh' near Kanaud gate of Rewari city. A magnificent canopy is still present, and is worshipped by the inhabitants of Rewari.

According to Man Singh,¹⁴ the forefathers of Nand Ram were ruling in Tijara, south of Rewari, in Rajasthan. It is claimed that Rao Rudra Singh one of the descendants moved to Bolani during the reign of Humayun. In C. 850 V.S., Charurao was the ruler of Tijara, whose pedigree is: Charurao-Prabalarao-Chatru-Kartu (Kartar)-Sopan-Hardev-Mahasukh-Chandraban-Harpal-Udaipal and Māde. Udaipal's descendants settled in 'Dahar' of Delhi area. Māde's descendants settled 'Bolani Titarka' near Tijara. Made-Sulakhan-Kirorpal-Bithur-Kala-Chawaja-Kharband-Harchand and Sunder. Harchand-Ruda-Ram Singh *maruf* Ramu Rotala. Sunder-Laskari-Sukhram, whose descendants are settled in Majara Gauravas in Tehsil Rewari. Jivaram, a scion of Sunder Singh settled Nayagaon near Nahad, and Moti Singh, Daulat and Indraj Singh settled Lisan in Tehsil Rewari. The descendants of Udaipal are settled in Haibatpur, Tarabadha, Kheda, Rav Ki Maval, Khadakhadi, Jafarpur, Pandavala, Hasanpur, Daulatpur, Gumanhedi Jhuljali, etc. in Delhi state.

Nand Ram had three sons, Gujarmal, Balkishan and Mansa Ram.¹⁵ Gujarmal succeeded his father, and sent his younger brother Balkishan in the service of Delhi emperor, Muhammadshah. Balkishan killed a lion in a bout without the help of any weapon in the presence of the emperor who was pleased to grant him the titles of *Śher Baccha Samshir Bahadur*,¹⁶ and 'Rao'. In addition to this he was appointed permanent personal officer with a salary of three thousand rupees per mensum and he was also granted the special privilege of drum (*nobat*) by the emperor.¹⁷

In V.S. 1795 (A.D. 1739), Nadirshah invaded India, a battle was fought at Karnal. Bal Kishan, with 5,000 warriors of Ahirwal under his command fought ferociously and bravely with Nadir Shah, but the imperial army deserted and its commander Nawab Mohammad Amin Burhan-ul-Mulk was taken prisoner by Nadirshah. But Bal Kishan sacrificed his life in the battlefield. One canopy (*chhatra*) was erected on the spot near Karnal city in the memory of the sacrifice of Bal Kishan. The imperial commander complained to the emperor that Bal Kishan deserted the battlefield, but when the two emperors met together, Nadirshah told Muhammad Shah 'Rangila' that "had the imperial army helped Rao Bal Kishan in his vigorous fight it would not have been possible for us to reach not only Delhi but impossible

12. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

13. *Foreign Miscell.*, No. 123, 1830.

14. *Ibid.*, p.106.

15. *Ibid.*, p.109. But K.C. Yadav mentions in his book *Rao Raja Tularam* (Hindi), 1988, p. 18, that Mansaram was the eldest and thus succeeded Nand Ram, and Balkishan succeeded Mansaram in V.S. 1785 (A.D. 1728) after the death of latter who was issueless.

16. Man Singh, p. 109.

17. *Foreign Misc.*, *op.cit.*

to return to Iran, and he became a martyr in the battlefield".¹⁸ Muhammad Shah, in recognition to the sacrifice and services of Bal Kishan called for Rao Gujarmal from Rewari and conferred upon him the mansab of *Panjhazari Amir-al-Umrao* and the title of '*Rao Bahadur*' in addition to the *Bawanis* (52's) of Narnaul and Hisar.¹⁹ He also issued orders that the Rao's drum could be beaten up to the door of the Red fort.²⁰

Gujarmal sent a message to the Nawab of Farrukh Nagar that he should vacate the estates of Hisar and other adjoining areas which the emperor had granted to the former. When the Nawab refused to comply with it, the Rao defeated him in a battle at Hansi and imprisoned him after defeating him and his army. At last he freed the Nawab and gave 12 villages in the *Jagir* of Farrukh Nagar.²¹ Man Singh also informs that Gujarmal helped Maharaja Sujan Singh, the ruler of Bikaner, to get the Hisar fort vacated from the Balochs who had forcibly occupied it. The Rao also snatched the credentials and imperial insignia from Thakur Dhokal Singh who was coming from Delhi and was going to Jodhpur en route Rewari to take charge of Jodhpur. The Rao handed over these things to Maharaja Ajit Singh, who was the *dejure* sovereign of Jodhpur.²²

Most tragic was his end. The Badgujar Sirdar Bahadur Singh, son of Hathi Singh, was a family foe of the Rao. He had left the services of Suraj Mal, the Jat ruler of Bharatpur. The Rao made friendship with the Jat ruler to get revenge of Bahadur Singh, but before he could get anything done the Badgujar got killed the Rao by Todar Mal, the Thakur of Nimrana, a small principality in the South-West of Rewari, who was the father-in-law of Bahadur Singh and a friend of the Rao.²³ Man Singh also narrates one more instant which proves the help of Bahadur Singh to the Rao in difficulty. The Rao was made captive by the imperial orders due to not depositing 18 lac rupees in the treasury which was due to him. The Nawab of Farrukh Nagar occupied village Kosali. When the Rao heard of it, he enticed the officer on guard and reached Ghasera at night. He explained the whole situation before Bahadur Singh and sought his help. Bahadur Singh promised all help and sent a message to the Nawab that if he did not vacate Kosali, the former would attack on Farrukh Nagar and would occupy it. The Nawab at once vacated Kosali, and the Rao paid the revenue with the help and assistance of the villagers of Mirpur (Rewari).²⁴

According to the Gurgaon Gazetteer,²⁵ "the power of this family was at zenith at the time of Gujarmal. He constructed many forts such as, Guravada, Gokalgarh, etc. He got 'Gokal' coins minted at Gokalgarh." He got many palatial buildings constructed in Haryana, Delhi

18. Man Singh, p. 110.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111. According to Man Singh the most important result of this battle was that even most ordinary Yadav-Ahir came to be addressed as 'Rao' by the inhabitants of Haryana.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 111-12.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

24. *Ibid.* pp. 112-13.

25. *Gurgaon Gazetteer*, p.110; also Man Singh, p. 113.

and Uttar Pradesh, laid gardens, a canopy (*chhatari*) on Nandsagar in Rewari, markets in Rewari and Delhi, settled some villages, and palatial buildings in Dighal (Jhajjar). Gujarmal has been praised extensively by Man Singh. The boundaries of his realm touched Karnal on one side and Bairath (Alwar) on the other in South, Mewat in the east and Hisar on the west. During his rule Rewari grew three times as large as it was during the rule of Nandram. He established hypergamous marital relations with the Rajput royal family of Bikaner, and had political alliance with Suraj Mal, the Jat king of Bharatpur.

Bhawani Singh succeeded his deceased father in A.D. 1750, and renewed his obeisance to the emperor Ahmad Shah (1748-54). He was killed in 1758 by his own manager, Tulsi Ram, and of the Santoria clan of Bahrur who became the virtual ruler because Daler Singh adopted son of Bhawani Singh, was incompetent. He fought on the side of Shah Alam II (1759-1806) in 1780 against the Maharaja of Jaipur. But another *Sardar* of Bolani, Gangabishan, joined the Maratha camp and fought against Mitter Sain, son of Tulsi Ram. Mitter Sain died as martyr c. 1786 A.D;²⁶ and the Marathas occupied Gokalgarh and Rewari. Thus Rewari came under the control of the Marathas and the *Jagir* of Rewari went to Gangabishan.

Mitter Sain attacked on Narnaul on 5 February, 1780, and badly looted the city. He had to incur heavy loss. In the words of Jadunath Sarkar, "400 men attacked on Mitter Sain Ahir Raja....hundreds men died".²⁷ Man Singh describes Mitter Sain a drunkard, womaniser and full of evils but fortunate enough to win every battle he fought,²⁸ Ram Singh had succeeded Daler Singh as the latter had passed away at the age of 20, and the Queen Maya Kunwar, widow of Bhawani Singh adopted Ram Singh. Ram Singh also died fighting in defense of self and the sons of Mitter Sain in the Maratha camp.²⁹ In 1786, the Marathas seized Gokalgarh fort and mercilessly put to death the whole family of Mitter Sain.

After the death of Gangabishan, the *Jagir* was returned to the heirs of Bhawani Singh—Hira Singh, younger brother of Ram Singh, who was adopted by the Queen. As Hira Singh proved weak, the control of the kingdom went to a local Bania, Zauki Ram, who began to act as a *defacto* ruler. Queen Maya Kunwar sought the help of Rao Tej Singh, a scion of Gujarmal and a ruler of Tauru, to get rid of Zauki Ram. He attacked Rewari and killed Zauki Ram.³⁰ Queen Maya Kunwar appointed Tej Singh the manager of Rewari state, and Hira Singh became more dependent on Tej Singh.³¹

The whole Ahirwal, except the *Jagir* of Rewari which was given to the Raos of Rewari, was divided into 12 *Parganas* by the Marathas; 1. Tauru, 2. Sohna, 3. Nuh, 4. Hodal, 5. Palwal, 6. Hathin, 7. Sarai, 8. Tapukada, 9. Kot Kasim, 10. Tijara, 11. Pataudi, and 12. Bawal. Yashwantrao Scindhia and Raghoji Kadam took possession of Narnaul and KantiParganas

26. Man Singh, p. 117

27. Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*. Vol. 3, p. 205.

28. Man Singh, p. 118.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

30. Yadav, K.C., *Rao Tula Ram — A Hero of 1857*, p. 6.; Man Singh, p. 121.

31. *Ibid.*

John Baptist got Rewari, Pataudi and Bawal³² parganas, whereas Tauru, Sohna and Nuh were given to Tej Singh by the Marathas. The latter supported the Marathas in 1787 and assumed kingship of Rewari by deposing Hira Singh. During his reign, the kingdom saw another level of urban development. He constructed a huge tank in Rewari at a cost of nearly two lakh rupees. He built palatial houses in Rampura, Mirpur, and Delhi (Ajmeri gate) and rest houses in the pilgrim centres of Mathura and Banaras. Commerce and trade also improved in Rewari during his reign.³³ K.C. Yadav describes him as the 'Shahajahan of Ahirwal',³⁴ as he was fond of construction of new palatial buildings, gardens, tanks and wells for the welfare of the people.

In 1803 the East India Company defeated the Marathas and the British honoured those who fought for them. Since Tej Singh did not help the British, many parts of Rewari kingdom, which had reached its peak during the rule of Rao Gujarmal, were given to different nawabs as *jagirs*—to nawabs of Jhajjar, Dojana and Pataudi. Tej Singh was allowed to retain only 87 villages under *istamarri* tenure in a *sanad* dated 25 February, 1806.³⁵ After the death of Rao Tej Singh in 1823,³⁶ the Rewari *jagir* was equally divided among his three sons Puran Singh, Nathu Ram, and Jawahar Singh (in 1827). The three had to incur a heavy economic loss in litigation on the question of the division of *jagir*. Nathu Ram and Jawahar Singh, somehow, managed to make the loss, but Puran Singh could not pay the expenses, and as a result, all villages of *istamarri*, except 5 or 6 villages were attached. Puran Singh died on 30 November, 1836 in a pitiable economic condition.³⁷

Rao Tula Ram (according to Man Singh, Tula Singh) was the only son of Puran Singh. He was born on 9 December, 1825. His mother, Gyan Kanwar, was the daughter of Rao Zahari Singh, a *Jagirdar* of a village near Rewari. He was tutored in Urdu, Persian, social science, and arithmetic by Ustad Ghulam Jilani.³⁸ Tula Ram rose to prominence around 1849 and around the time of mutiny in 1857, he assumed the government of the *paragana* of Rewari and Bahora, collected revenue, raised forces, cast guns, established order, and protected the region from Meos.³⁹ Percival Spear⁴⁰ notes that Tula Ram's authority extended as far as Rohtak to the northwest, and Mathura to the south. He not only recovered the lost kingdom of his forefathers but also extended and expanded it to new dimensions.

A new role was waiting for the Rao in the history of freedom movement in particular and in the history of India in general. He not only severed connections with the British rulers but also opposed them in the battlefield. Gopaldeva, his cousin, was the main inspiring force to

32. Atchinson, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. IV, pp. 46-53.

33. Man Singh, p. 122.

34. Yadav, K.C., *op.cit.*, p. 71.

35. Man Singh, p. 122.

36. Yadav, K.C., *Rao Raja Tula Ram* (Hindi), p. 26; but according to Man Singh he died at the age of 57 in 1815 (Jaiṣṭha Vadi 15, 1872 V.S.), *Abhirkul Dipika*, p. 125.

37. Man Singh tells it to be in V.S.1884, *op.cit.*, p. 126.

38. Yadav, K.C., *op.cit.*, p. 7.

39. *Gazetteer of the Gurgaon District*, 1883-84, p. 27.

40. Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals*, Cambridge University Press, 1951, p.7.

prepare Tula Ram for the revolt. The Rao declared his loyalty to the last and nominal king, Bahadur Shah Zafar, of Delhi and assumed the reigns of government in the Ahirwal. Like other rulers or former rulers of India, Tula Ram was not opposing or fighting against the British rulers for his personal petty ends or for the sake of his kingdom, but he was waging a war of independence against the foreign rulers to free the motherland. He was different than his other contemporaries like Laxmibai, Rani of Jhansi, Nana Sahib of Bithur, etc., who had limited goals in their minds. He was less than 32 years at that time, and did not possess much resources to wage a war against such a formidable enemy like the British East India Company. His sagacity, vision, planning and the conceptual framework of the mission are unparalleled in the history of India. Though he lost the battle, his motherland and life, as he died in exile in Kabul keeping the torch of the independence burning throughout, the historians of India did not do justice with him and assess his work in a dispassionate way. Man Singh, and later on K.C. Yadav, wrote his biography and due to circumstances prevailed in the times of the former, he could not do full justice with the subject. K.C. Yadav threw some new light on the subject and it requires reassessment of the Rao.

Tula Ram opposed the British regime and joined hands with the last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar (1837-57). He helped the latter with money, men and material. He sent his men to Muhammed Bukht Khan, the commander-in-chief of the Indian forces at Delhi, requesting him to recommend to the emperor to accept Rs. 45,000 as his tribute (*nazar*). On the recommendation of the Commander the Emperor issued an order (*farman*) for handing over the *Ilaqas* of Rewari and its vicinity in 1857.⁴¹ Tula Ram also complained to the emperor that the kingdom of his ancestors which had an income of 20 lakhs of rupees per year had been reduced to nothing by the British who had forfeited all the *sanads* (testimonials) given by the Mughals to his ancestors. He also stressed that all his ancestors had been loyal to the Mughal emperors. It shows the dependence of the Rao on the emperor of Delhi. All the acquired territories were being ruled by him in the name of the Mughal emperor, whereas the State of Jhansi was under the suzerainty of the British India company.

Tula Ram made huge preparations for revolting against the British rulers. He set up workshops in the forts of Rampura and Gokalghadh to manufacture guns, gun carriages, small arms and ammunition. He recruited two regiments of cavalry, four platoons of infantry and two regiments of artillery. Rao Gopaldev was appointed the Commander of the army. Kishan Singh was made captain of the cavalry, Bane Singh and Jagat Singh were appointed captains in the army. Sadhu Singh (son of Ishwar Singh of Behror) and Mufti Nizam-ul-din were made adjutants. Brij Lal (Lisan), Gairat Khan (Gudiyani), Kanwar Fateh Khan S/o Raja Sadat Khan (Dhamala ka), Ram Ratan (Palhawas), Sayaid Mutaloob Husain (Husainpur), Khan Majalis (Rasagan), Sayid Farast Hasin Khan (Turkiawas), Prem Singh (Dharuheda) were made *Risaldars* in the cavalry.

Nirbhai Singh and Bahadur Singh (Gokal Kota), Ishwari Singh, Samrath Singh, Budh Singh Gujar (Malikpur) were made *Subedars* of the army. Captain Sane Singh, Sadhu Singh

41. *Parganas* of Rewari, Bohara, and Shahajahanapur were conferred on 1 August 1857. See Yadav, *op.cit.*, p.79.

Adjutant, Tula Ram (Bolani), Sardar Har Sevak (Asiaki), Bal Ram (Jadia), Hari Singh (Bihali), Salig Ram (Mirpur), Mir Khan, Tara Singh of Lisan, Nandia Bairagi of Rampura were the Subedars of second platoon (or Battalion according to K.C. Yadav). Jagat Singh of Dharuheda was captain and Tula Ram of Mirpur was made adjutant. Sadi Ram of Palhawas, Tula Ram (Siyana), Nand Ram (Gadhi Mahasar), Ram Dahan, Nahar Singh (Kosali), Baldev Singh of Kalaba, Ram Gopal of Mandi, Hardayal Brahman of Nai Basti, Ram Baks of Mandola, were *Subedars* of the third platoon. Captain Nand Ram and adjutant Hukam Singh were commanding the fourth platoon. Twelve hundred soldiers from Shekhavati were in this platoon, along with Thakurs Gopalji, Bhupji and Khusal Singh.⁴²

Quoting Man Singh, K.C. Yadav gives details of the military and civil administration of Tula Ram,⁴³ which shows the organising capacity and planning of the Rao.

On hearing the news of the outbreak of revolt at Meerut and Delhi,⁴⁴ Tula Ram took no time in deciding to take side against the British. Bahadurshah sent a *shuqqa* to Tula Ram asking for help.⁴⁵ In its response Tula Ram acted swiftly. On 17 May, he went to the *Tahsil* headquarters at Rewari with four to five hundred followers, and took charge of the administration depositing the *Tahsildar* and *Thanedar*. He assumed the government of the *parganas* of Rewari, Bhora Kalan and Shahjahanpur.⁴⁶ He was immediately confronted with two major problems: preservation of law and order, and secondly, collection of revenue; but the Rao handled both the situations deftly. The Emperor issued a *farman* to the effect that “the *parganas* of Rewari, Shahjahanpur and Bhora, all the villages, *asali* and *Dakhali* and the taxes levied on *Rahadari* (transit), the cities and the towns, are hereby given to the charge of Rao Tula Ram Bahadur”.⁴⁷

Thus Tula Ram became the ruler of three *parganas* by dint of his sagacity, valour and power. He made arrangements to establish law and order in the area. Ford, the British collector of Gurgaon, remarked: “I would respectfully bring to the notice of government, the great benefit which the town of Rewari and its neighbourhood derived from the attitude assumed by Rao Tula Ram, since the plundering of Mewatis was thus kept at a distance and life and property preserved and order preserved on the Jaipur border.”⁴⁸

Ahmad Ali Khan, the Nawab of Farruka Nagar, tried to create disorder in Bhora in order to show that Tula Ram was subjecting the traders and inhabitants to tyranny and oppression. The Nawab, like other chiefs of the Delhi territory, was playing a double role. He was in correspondence with Bahadurshah as well as with the British and all he did in 1857 was fighting his neighbours in furtherance of his personal interest.⁴⁹ Tula Ram sent a force under

42. Man Singh, *op.cit.*, pp. 129-30.

43. Yadav, K.C., *op.cit.*, pp. 41-44.

44. See File R/192, 281-83.

45. *Mutiny Papers* (Persian), Bundle No. 34, Document No. 12.

46. File R/192, 281-83, *Mutiny Papers* (Persian), Bundle No. 34, Document No. 30.

47. *Ibid.*, Document No. 12.

48. File R/180, pp. 47-53.

49. Rao Tula Ram—A Hero of 1857, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

his cousin and commander-in-chief, Gopal Dev, on 13 August, 1857, who gave him crushing defeat.⁵⁰ But the Nawab did not stop his activities. He instigated some *Zamindars* of Rewari to refuse the payment of revenue to Tula Ram, instigated some *Risaldars* to make a petition against Tula Ram to Bahadur Shah to the effect that he stopped people from joining the Royal army; and that he collected money from the business community and others in the name of the Emperor, but put it in his own coffers.⁵¹ He also hired some *Zamindars* from Rewari to lodge protest against the depredations of Tula Ram.⁵² At the outbreak of the revolt, the district of Gurgaon (Rewari was a Tahsil of it) rose at once against the British government. W. Ford, the collector, was compelled to leave the station on 13 May, and no European was seen in the whole district. British officers of Gurgaon were so much afraid of Tula Ram that they did not dare re-enter Gurgaon even after the fall of Delhi on 20 September, 1857. On 2 October, Brigadier General Showers led out a column of 1500 men with a light field battery, two 18 pounder guns and two small mortars 'to settle the Gurgaon district, to attack and destroy Tula Ram and his followers, and to raze his fort at Rewari.'⁵³ Showers reached Rewari on 6 October. Tula Ram had evacuated the fort which was found armed with 12 guns and mortars, "all in position at the ramparts ready loaded".⁵⁴ Hudson was wonder struck to see the military preparations of the Rao. He wrote to his wife : "He (Tula Ram) was a clever fellow; and had adroitly and promptly contrived so as to be first in the field should our power have ceased. We found extensive preparations and large workshop for the preparation of military equipment of all kinds, guns, gun-carriages, gun-powder and materials of all kinds. He had already done much and in couple of months his position would have been so strong as to give him the command of all the surrounding country as well as the rich town and entrepot of Rewari, close to the walls of his fort. Had our Empire fallen, he would have mastered all surrounding villages and districts and probably extended his power on all sides and formed his 'Raj' like that of Patiala, Jind, to fall in its turn before the (then) newly aroused energies of the Sikhs."⁵⁵ Having made such huge preparations why did the Rao leave Rewari without opposing the British army? K.C. Yadav says that the Rao visualised that the small mud fort of Rewari (Rampura) under the changed circumstances after the fall of Delhi would result in the complete ruin of his power without inflicting any serious loss on the British.⁵⁶

As Showers failed to achieve the object, the British authorities at Delhi sent a strong column under colonel Gerrard, "an officer of conspicuous merit"⁵⁷ on 10 November, 1857 to punish the rebel chiefs—Tula Ram, his cousin Kishan Singh, Abdul Samad Khan, general of the Nawab of Jhajjar, and Muhammad Azim, assistant patrol of Bhattu,⁵⁸ who had moved

50. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

51. Nizami, Khawaja Hasan, *Ghadar Ki Subah aur Sham (Diary of Munshi Jiwan Lal of 19 July, 1857)*, p. 175.

52. *Ibid.*, (Diary of 15 August, 1857), pp. 216-17.

53. *Panjab Govt. Records*, Vol. VII, Part II, p. 131.

54. *Illustrated London News*, Vol. XXXI, No. 891, 5 December, 1857, p. 574.

55. Quoted in Rao Tula Ram, *op.cit.*, p. 29.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

57. Malleson, 319; Jwala Sahai, *The Loyal Rajputana*, 219; Holmes, 396.

58. Chick, 718-19.

into Shekhawati and had met with the Jodhpur legion and formed a junction with it.⁵⁹ Having seized Rewari, Gerrard proceeded to Kanaud, 51 kilometres north-west of Rewari on 15 November.

In the evening he was joined by Haryana field force comprising 23rd Panjab Infantry, Patiala Infantry, Panjab mounted police detachment, Esakhel Horse, Tohana Horse and a troop of six pounder artillery.⁶⁰ Gerrard's own column consisted of the first Bengal European Fusilliers, 7th Panjab Infantry, Cookworthy's troops of Horse Artillery, Gillespie's Heavy Battery, the carabineers, the cavalry of the guides, and the Multani horse.⁶¹ The British forces were well organised under experienced officers and had a troop of heavy artillery too. Their number was a little over 2,500.⁶² Gerrard collected necessary information in order to launch a heavy attack next day on Narnaul, 25 kilometres south from Kanod (now Mahendragadh).

Gerrard marched from Kanod at 1 a.m. on 16 November. The sandy nature of the terrain made the march difficult for the artillery and their guns and the infantry had to halt again and again to give them time to come up. The column halted at Nasibpur, an Ahir village, 3 kilometres north of Narnaul, and rested there for a while.

The Indian forces comprised the Jodhpur legion commanded by Risaldar Ahmad Ali, the Ahirs and Ranghars of Ahirwal and Mewat jointly commanded by Tula Ram and the forces of the Nawab of Jhajjar commanded by his general Abdus Samad Khan. Their number was a little over 5,000. They had half a dozen guns of medium size. Their artillery being rather weak, they mainly depended on infantry and cavalry.⁶³

The forces of Tula Ram deployed themselves in a very strong and spacious fort-like building right in the centre of the town in the early hours of the cool morning of 16 November. Then they committed a blunder in having abandoned their strong post in the centre of the town and chose to take the offensive. "For so strong was indeed their position", says Malleeson, "that had they the patience to await attack, Gerrard would have founded that all his work had been cut out for him".⁶⁴

K.C. Yadav, on the basis of information from other scholars and sources gives a vivid description of the battle of Nasibpur. He writes:⁶⁵ "The resting British troops with lightening like speed stood on guards in obedience to their commander Gerrard, who placed the 23rd Panjab Infantry on the left. The Multani Horse and Irregular cavalry were on the extreme left and the Carbineers and Guides on the extreme right. A company of the Guides and the Fusilliers stood ready to make simultaneous move from the centre under cover of the artillery fires.

The action began a little before 12 O'clock. The first Indian charge was irresistible, and the British forces scattered before them disorderly. The Panjab Infantry and Guides on the

59. *Foreign Secret Consultation*, 5, 29 January, 1858; Chick, 718-19.

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Intelligence Department Records*, II, 272-73.

62. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, pp.15-17, 19 January, 1858.

63. *Rao Tula Ram, op.cit.*, p. 34.

64. Malleeson, 319.

65. Yadav, K.C., *op.cit.*, pp. 35-39.

right flank were completely disheartened. Just then the Indian cavalry detailed under Kishan Gopal, broke the ranks of the Guides in the extreme right and advanced to Panjab Infantry's formation to their right. But the Carbineers and Guides, moving up at same moment galloped to meet them. About midway between the two lines the rival hosts joined.

It was indeed a close, grim battle on the right. How well the Indians fought can be guessed from the assertion of Holmes: "The enemies (Indians) met the shock of the Guides and Carbineers right gallantly". "It was a gallant conflict", say Kay and Malleeson, "never did the enemy fight better. There was neither shirking nor lurching. Never was there a charge more gallant and certainly never were the British cavalry met so fully or in so full swing by the rebel horse". At its most violent the action did not last long.

"The Indians lost the day and when the sun went down there remained none in Narnaul except heaps of corpses here and there. Rao Tula Ram effected escape. Kishan Singh, Ram Lal and so many other top ranking officers were killed in the action. The number of the dead on Indian side was supposed to have gone beyond many hundreds. The loss on the British side was nearly 70 killed and 45 wounded. They lost their commander Gerrard and many officers were seriously wounded in the action."

K.C. Yadav concludes:⁶⁶ "The battle of Narnaul was undoubtedly a hard fought battle of the Indian revolt of 1857. The English felt "jubilant" over their success in the battle. It resulted in the complete rout of the three rebellious powers : Rao Tula Ram, Samad Khan of Jhajjar, and the Jodhpur legion, and marked the close of the crucial period of the struggle in the Delhi division and northern Rajasthan and restoration of the British supremacy in this region. It was rightly the last bright glow of the great extinguishing conflagration in north-western India".

Then started the vengeance. The town of Narnaul was brutally sacked next day. Rewari was the next target. A heavy fine or ransom to the extent of Rs. 77,000, which was subsequently reduced to Rs. 43,917, was demanded from the city on account of its support to Tula Ram. The *Istamarari* and four estates of Tula Ram and Gopal Dev were confiscated considering them as dead in consequence of their rebellion.⁶⁷ The village of Asiaki, near Rewari, was plundered and one Bhanu Pratap Ahir was made to suffer physical tortures as well as fine on account of participation in the secret rebellious proceedings of Tula Ram under whom he served in the capacity of a Qiladar at Shahajahanpur.⁶⁸

Nangal Pathani, the paternal village of Tula Ram was raided by the British army. Property belonging to Rao Kishan Singh and his brother Ram Lal was confiscated. A thorough search was made for Ram Singh, uncle of Tula Ram, in vain. His property was confiscated. Among others, properties of Hukum Singh, Sewa Ram, Abhoo, Sheodayal, Hira Singh, etc., were confiscated.⁶⁹ Scores of persons underwent inhuman tortures, but they did

66. Yadav, K.C., *op.cit*, p. 40.

67. *File R/194*, pp. 267-69; *File R/192*, p. 289.

68. Man Singh, *op.cit.*, pp. 198-99.

69. See file No. 12 (Revenue, dated 17-1-1860).

not disclose the whereabouts of Tula Ram.⁷⁰ Collective fines were imposed on nearly every village. Many persons were tried, Jagirs and pensions of many more were forfeited. The region came under the direct control of the British rule and the adjoining areas of Rewari were torn in pieces and offered to Native Rulers in exchange of their loyalty to the British empire and traitors to the country. Ahirs were afterwards refused recruitment in the British army for their cooperation with the Rao⁷¹ and being of his caste. Educational and other progressive facilities were denied to the people of this area for long.

Rao Tula Ram died at Kabul where he had gone to seek military help from the ruler of Afghanistan and the Tsar of Russia, and this was the end of the Rewari kingdom of Ahirs.⁷²

Man Singh, the author of *Abhir Kuladipika* describes the personality of Rao Tula Ram: He had a round face, broad forehead, singularly luminous eyes, long arms and a broad chest. He was not fat but strong and muscular. Fine moustaches and long beard secured for him an imposing appearance (p. 131). He ate non-vegetarian dishes and rich food. Wine was used sparingly (p. 169).

This great patriot died at the age of 38 on 23 September, 1863 at Kabul. 23 September is celebrated in Haryana as a State function in his memory.

Tula Ram was succeeded by his son Yudhishter Singh, who was a pious and God-fearing man. He took keen interest in the upliftment of his caste and area. Around the 1880s he sent a petition to the government asking for the recruitment of Ahirs into the Army, to which the Government responded favourably. Col. Clifford of the second Bengal cavalry, came to Rewari and recruited 38 out of 300 eligible Ahir youths to the Army and Rao Yudhishter Singh himself was made a Risaldar. However it was not until World War I that the Ahirs were recruited in greater number into the army and two companies of Ahirs were established. Rao Bahadur Balbir Singh, adopted son of Yudhishter Singh, also intensified the efforts to help the Ahirs enter the army. He was made an honorary captain and was given the title of Rao Bahadur. He was also a member of the Panjab Legislative Council in the joint Panjab before 1945. He also took the lead in establishing the Ahir Yadav Kṣatriya Mahasabha at Rewari in 1910.

In 1895, Rao Yudhishter Singh invited Swami Dayanand Śaraswati to visit Rewari and at Swami's suggestion a *goshala* was established and an Association for the protection of cows (*goraksha sabha*) was founded. The Arya Samaj became a popular movement among the Yādavas in villages and many big villages came to have an Arya Samaj *Mandir* and a school. The Mahasabha created consciousness among the Yādavas and they began to take interest in social reforms and education of their sons. Rewari, the political centre of Ahirs, also became educational and cultural centre where a high school and a collage was established with the donation of Ahirs of Delhi, Haryana and Rajasthan. Rao Bahadur Chhaju Ram, Rao Takhat Singh, etc. were prominent Presidents of Ahir Education Board.

70. Man Singh, p. 229.

71. *The Economic Weekly*, August 29, 1964, Vol. XVI, p. 1440.

72. For further details, see, *Rao Tula Ram — A Hero of 1857* by K.C. Yadav (1965); and *Abhira Kuladipika* by Man Singh (1888).

Huge palatial buildings were constructed, including big hostels for school and college students. The educational institutions became famous for high standard of teaching, discipline and sports. These provided a nucleus to the Ahir youth for entering into armed forces and subordinate civil services. The authorities found an easy centre for recruitment in these educational institutions.

All went well till sixties when democratically elected representatives looked after these educational institutions. A training college for teachers of primary and high schools was also added which benefited a great number of young men of the Ahirwal in general and the Ahir youth in particular. As the new republic of India laid much emphasis on education, and the demand of the trained teachers was much more than the supply, almost every young Yādav, who got training here, was absorbed in the government service. It not only boosted their economy, but also encouraged education among the Yādavas of Ahirwal. Had they got other guidance facilities, they could have achieved higher goals. In sixties, Rao Birendra Singh, the adopted son of Rao Balbir Singh, controlled the Ahir Education Board indirectly and made use of the educational institutions for his personal ends. Of course, he started two new colleges—one at Rewari and another at Delhi with the aid of donation from the Yādavas, both were closed down in the very inception. Now only two colleges—Ahir College and College of Education—are functioning at Rewari.

Besides the Rewari kingdom, there were some other small chiefdoms in Ahirwal, prominent among these were Ganawals of Guravada, Jadams of Maandi, Dabars, Dahmivals, Nunivals of Nasibpur, Nirpur, Sirhol, Dahiyas, Bichhawalias, Hadas, Harbalas, Sulataniyas, Chikanās, Tondaks, Chitosiyas, Kaninvals, Gadhojiyas, Santorias, Khosyas, Bathothias, etc. While many of the *sardar* clans served the Rewari kingdom, some of them supported the other chiefly clans in Ahirwal. There are at present approximately 103 Ahir clans in Ahirwal, 21 of which have migrated to Ahirwal after 1857, out of 82 clans which were residents before 1857, four had the royal and chiefly clan status, 38 had the *sardar* clan status, and the remaining 42, 30 derived their dominance mainly on the basis of title of land and its cultivation, and the other 12 were ordinary clans.⁷³ All the clans exercised dominance in their respective territorial domain, which were demarcated as clan-council areas.

The Ahirs of the then Panjab had returned themselves as shown under. Of the Gwalabans more than 16,000 were found in Patiala. Within these tribes they had numerous clans, among which the Kosali of Rohtak and Gurgaon number 7,322.

Ahir Tribes

Jadubans	—	43,961
Nandbans	—	24,998
Gwalabans	—	25,187

73. This is an estimation based partly on the account given by Sivadhan Singh Yādav (*Yadava Parivar*) and partly on my field work.

It would not be irrelevant to explain that these divisions are based on occupational basis, the Jadubansis retaining the headship, and the owners of the lands, whereas Nandbansis who were husbandmen and Gwalas being their employees for looking after their cattle. However, it was not impossible, though may be difficult, to change from one group to another. This was based more on financial basis than social standing.

Ahirs (1881 Census)

Delhi	—	14,544	Dera Ismail Khan	—	..
Gurgaon	—	66,884	Dera Ghazi Khan	—	6
Kamal	—	1,007	Bannu	—	..
Hisar	—	7,861	Peshawar	—	436
Rohtak	—	15,824	Hazara	—	37
Sirsa	—	922	Kohat	—	62
Ambala	—	1,561			
Ludhiana	—	1			
Simla	—	536	British Territory	—	114,633
Jalandhar	—	259	Patiala	—	31,512
Hoshiarpur	—	30	Nabha	—	14,711
Kangra	—	26	Kapurthala	—	28
Amritsar	—	356	Jind	—	5,023
Gurdaspur	—	53	Faridkot	—	153
Sialkot	—	448	Malerkotla	—	24
Lahore	—	1,213	Kalsia	—	39
Gujranwala	—	85			
Firozpur	—	1,100	Total Eastern Plains	—	58,946
Rawalpindi	—	941			
Jehlam	—	195	Bilaspur	—	33
Gujarat	—	58	Bushahar	—	3
Shahpur	—	962			
Multan	—	887	Total Hill States	—	61
Jhang	—	45			
Montgomery	—	186	Grand Total	—	173,640
Muzaffargarh	—	73			

Source: *Panjab Castes*, p. 191.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE EXPANSION OF YĀDAVAS

The Bhāratavarṣa of the Purāṇas extended up to the southern bank of the Oxus, and was much larger than the present day India in that direction. Ancient Tukhāra is a district of the present Afghanistan that go by the names of Tokharistan and Budakhshan. The Tukhara area adjoins the Oxus, and extends to the valley of the Chitral river with the country of the ancient Daradas and China (=Sinus) on the east and Balkh on the west, which was once included within its limits... The Paradas would have been located in what is now Badakhshan. The Anhdra were next to Tukhāras. They too were along the river Oxus. In the time of Aśoka Tokharis were not there, and probably the Andhras and the Paradas were neighbours, occupying the area between Andhkui (Afghanistan-Turkistan) and the frontier of Chitral.

According to a passage of the *Mahābhārata* one had to cross the Chambal to reach the Bhoja state and Nava-Rāṣṭras or Nine Rāṣṭras.¹ Another passage states that the Bhojas inhabited between Karuṣa and Sindh (Sindhu Pulindakas).² The Kṛṣṇas kinsmen the Bhojas, and Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis, migrated to western India from Sūrasena. They must have settled side by side near Kathiawar. The position mentioned in *Mahābhārata* is below Sindh and to the west of the Mālavas. By crossing the Chambal one comes to Mālavas, with whom were associated the Karuṣas (*Matsya*, 113.52). The locality thus suggested is between Sindh and Mālava. The western limit of the Mālvas was Mount Abu, Arbuda, i.e., the Aravali range.

Ptolemy places Larike between the mouth of the Mahi river and the peninsula of Kathiawar (*McCrindle*, p. 38) and extends its domain from the origin of the Narmadā (Barygaza) to the east of Indo-Skythiā or Sindh (*McCrindle*, p.152). Ptolemy's *Poulindai*, who according to Yule, inherited the N.E. of the Ran of Kutch (*McCrindle* p.157), were the *Sindhu-Pulindas* of the Sanskrit text. Larike is the Prakrit rendering of Rāṣṭrika in its form. According to Ptolemy Larike in. c. 150 A.D. extended from Bharoach to the Gulf of Kutch, i.e., the modern Gujarat to the west of western Mālava. Larike thus seems to have extended up to the river Sarasvati which formed the western limit of India. According to Varāhamihira the river originates from the Aravali hills and falls into the Gulf of Kutch. Ptolemy's limits of Larike coincide with those of Lāṭa-Deśa of Sanskrit writers (Apara-Mālava-Paścimena Lāṭa-Deśa). The names Lāṭhi, a state in Kathiawar, and Rāṭhi, a caste preserve the name of

1. Sabhā-Parvam, Ch. 31 (1-7).

2. Bhīṣma Parvam, cited by Wilson and Hall; v.p. II, 158 (ch. IX, 38-40).

the ancient Rāṭhikas. The Pitinikas must have lived somewhere between the lower courses of Mahi and Sarasvati rivers. About 40 miles to the south east of Ahmedabad lies the modern town of Petlad. The old name of this place was Petila (see, A.S.R. W.C., 1920, pp. 47.60). There can be little doubt that Petila-Petina has derived from the ancient Pitinika, Petinika, Petenika and thus it confirms the location otherwise suggested.³

The Bhojas, according to Bhiṣma's list, in *Mahābhārata* should have resided to the south of the Rana of Katch, which they must have occupied latter. The Rāṣṭrikas should have occupied a place between the frontiers of the Pitinikas and the Bhojas. The Bhojakas is a caste, which is mostly met with Kutch and Kathiawar. It seems probable that some of the Rāṭhikas and Bhojas might have crossed Satpura hills, and settled there. But their main habitat specially in Aśoka's era, was to the North of the Narmadā, in proper Gujrat, right from Kathiawar to Kutch.

Rāṣṭrikas and Abiria: During the reign of Periplus (C. 80 A. D.) the very area which was called 'Larike' by Ptolemy was called Abiria. The Abiras of Gujarat were thus the Rāṣṭrikas of Aśoka and the Yādavas of the *Mahābhārata*. Time and again that area was ruled by republicans. In the *Mahābhārata* era there were Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis and Bhojas (Yādavas); in the Aśoka period there have been the Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojas; during the reign of Kharvela there were the Rāṭhikas and Bhojakas; at the time of Samudra Gupta's rule there were the Ābhīras, according to contemporary Purāṇic text and Saurastras and Avantyas; 'Abhiras'⁴ during the period of Kumara Gupta I and Skanda Gupta and then the *Puṣyamitras*. All these people were same or allied to each other and were called by different names at different times.

Rāṣṭrika-Bhojas : The Aśoka's inscription describes that to some extent Bhojas were identical with the Rāṣṭrikas, as in Rock Pillar V and Rock Pillar XIII the Nābhakas and Gandhāras area interchangeable. The Bhojas were from the Rāṣṭrikas,⁵ as the Nābhakas were from amongst the Gandhāras. Hindus inhabited the portions upto the Hindukush and Śāsi-Gupta used to rule there at the time of Alexander.

In 58 B.C.⁶ Nahapānas coins' were restruck and the Mālava Gaṇa fixed the beginning of Kṛta from that date.⁷ The Gaṇa adopted this date to count future time (Kālajñānāya)⁸ The era got its recognition by their use.⁹ The authority of that Era of Vikrama still holds and we are using it even now. The Mālavas subsequently covered the whole of the vast area to the South of Nagar, which permanently bears their name. They are mentioned in the list of Samudra Gupta's subordinates alongwith other republicans, the Yaudheyas, the Madras, the Arjunāyanas, etc. In the Gupta period they were lost in oblivion. Their era was used by great sovereigns of Mālavas from the fourth to sixth centuries. This would not have happened if the Mālava-gaṇa had been still subsisting, for that would have denoted subordination of the

3. For Pettani from Gujarat in the seventh century, see Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 65

4. Bhag. cf. viṣ in Pargiter 'DKA', p. 54, *J.B.R.S.*, XIX, pp. 149-50.

5. Both were Yādavas.

6. *E.I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 44.

7. Refer to Kṛta in *Gupta Inscriptions* having dates in Mālava years.

8. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 154.

9. *E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 320.

sovereigns using the era. They certainly did not exist at the time of Varāhamihira who was living in Mālava, and the use of such antiquated datum show that the real Mālavas had ceased to exist for some centuries. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa¹⁰ correctly gives their later habitation in Mewar-Jaipur area.

The coins of Mālavas¹¹ bear legends in Brāhmi: 'Mālavānam Jaya' or 'Mālavayaya', or 'Mālavana Jaya' (in Prakrit) and 'Mālavagaṇasya'. In the 'Sabha Parvan' (ch. XXXII), the Mālavas, the Sibis and the Trgatas belong to Rajputana (*Maru*), and as mentioned elsewhere (ch. LII) they are from Panjab. Evidently ch. LII (describing the *Rājasūya*) is based on earlier authorities. There the Sibis, Trgatas, Yaudheyas, Rājanyas and Madras are mentioned with the people of 'Kāśmira and Kekaya: and the Ambaṣṭhas are placed in the same group as the Kṣudrakas and Mālavas. In chapter XXXII (in the *Digvijaya*) the Sibis, Trgatas and Mālavas have been described with the Daśāṇas and Madhyanakeyas en route the river Sarasvati and the Matsya Pradesh (Alwar). All these Gaṇas then were in Rajasthan extending from Sindh to the Vindhyas. It is noticeable that the Kṣudrakas do not appear in Rajasthan. 'It relates to the state of affairs at about c. 150 B.C., while the earlier ones refer to the Kautilya or earlier period, as like the *Arthaśāstra* it places the Kukuras alongwith the Madrakas, Yaudheyas and others'. Some republics are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* which we have not met with in earlier literature. They are the Gaṇas of Utsavasanketas, the republics of the Śūdras and that of the Ābhīras who are placed in the Indus Valley.

The Śūdra republic based on the name of a person and not on that of a Varṇa, is evidently the same whom Alexander met in lower Sindh and are Saudrayanas of *Gaṇapāṭha*. The *Śūdra-Ābhīras* are jointly mentioned, by which it may safely be inferred that this king Śūdra, not Śūdraka of *Mricchakaṭika*, was an Ābhīra king. Samudra Gupta places the Ābhīras next to the Madrakas the group of non-monarchical communities. The Yādava- Ābhīras were a dominating republic in the North-Western region of India. The period of 150 B.C. to A.C. may still be considered a living period of Hindu republican polity. It was the period of the glory of the republics.

Kukurs: The Kukuras whom the *Arthaśāstra* mentions were dominated by Rudradāman after 150 B.C., but the country of their habitat acquired the name of their community. The Pitinikas were vanished probably in the Mauryan period and the Saurāṣṭras also merged in the community about the second century B.C.

Vṛṣṇis: The glorious Vṛṣṇis fell to Saka barbarians leaving behind some coins to tell the story. The orthodox Brāhmi and the republican legend, *Vṛṣṇi-rājannya-gaṇasya tratasya* ('Of the Vṛṣṇi Rājanya (and) Gaṇa—the Protector of the country') thus survived. But the coin at the same time was obliged to bear Kharoṣṭī, the script of the invader as well. The coin is marked with the state symbol the weapon—*chakra* (discus), which has been their traditional symbol from the time of Rājanya Kṛṣṇa. The legend is in scripts of c. 100 B.C.¹²

10. Viṣ. ed. Williams & Hall, II. 133.

11. C.C.I.M., pp. 170-74.

12. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 70, p. IV, 15, has mistaken the disc for a wheel but the cutting edges and the projecting points on the rim are clear.

Consequent to the Maurya policy of destroying the republics the weakened country and facilitated the foreign barbarians of the first century B.C. to run through the western India due to nonexistence of stronger powers to oppose them. But the case was different in other directions. The barbarians proceeded up to Mathura, but were with held to the South West by the old republicans and could not contain the two seats of Mathura and Ujjain.

The older republics in the Punjab, however, paid the price which nature decrees from freedom to force. The smaller Punjab republics under the Mauryas only retained the political phrasology of republics and were no more *Samghas*, but mere *Ganas*: i.e. self governments without states and states without power. The *Bhāgavata* calls the Ābhīras, '*Saurāṣṭra* and Āvantiyas rulers (*Saurāṣṭra Āvanti Ābhīrah*) and the *Viṣṇu* treats the Ābhīras as occupying the *Saurāṣṭra* and *Avanti* provinces. We know from the *Vakataka* history that in Western *Mālava* there were the *Puṣyamitras* and two other republics with suffix of *Mitra*. These were the *Ābhīra republics* which were replaced in later Gupta period by the *Maitrakas* rising as monarchs. This group beginning with the Ābhīras and ending with *Kharaparikas* is almost in a straight line from *Kathiawar* and *Gujarat* to *Damoh*, south to the *Mālava* republic, *Vakataka* kingdom in the north. The Ābhīras in the time of the *Periplus* occupied *Gujarat*, and there seems no justification in locating them in *Bundelkhand* as Dr. Vincent Smith did (*J.R.A.S.*, 1897, p. 30). He was led to this wrong notion as *Kathiawar* and *Gujarat* were at that time governed by the western *Satrapas*. Both the *Purāṇas* and *Samudra Gupta's* inscription leave no room for the *Satrapas* to be in *Kathiawar* or *Gujarat*. The Western *Satrapas* had been vanquished in the *Nāga-Vākāṭaka* period from *Kathiawar*. The *Purāṇas* produce a strong evidence. The *Bhāgavata* describes the Ābhīras of *Surāṣṭra* and *Avanti*, the *Śūras* and the *Mālavas* of the *Aravali* as free republics. Their rulers are called *Janādhīpah*, 'national' or 'popular' (i.e. republican) 'rulers'. It does not mention the *Madrakas*. The *Śūras* of the *Bhāgavata* are the famous *Yaudheyas*. The word '*Śūra*' (hero) means '*yaudheya*' which was their popular title. *Rudradama*, 200 years earlier, recorded that the *Yaudheyas* were popularly known amongst the *Kṣatriyas* by their title 'the heroes'.¹³ The *Yaudheyas*, according to *Purāṇas*, were nice ancient *Kṣatriyas*. They formerly lived, like the *Mālavas*, in the *Panjab*. It were they and the *Mālavas* who kept the *Kuṣāṇs* in check, both at the western *Sindh* borders and at the eastern border at *Mathura*. They were popularly known as '*Śūra*', '*Vira*.' The *Bhāgavata* places them between the Ābhīras and the *Mālavas*, which indicates their placement to the north of the Ābhīras and to the north-west of the *Mālavas*, i.e., the Western portion of *Rajputana*. The *Viṣṇu* reads :- '*Saurāṣṭra-Avanti-Śūran Arbuda-Marubhamiṣāyams Ca Vrātya divijaya Ābhīras-Śūdra read (Śūra) - 'Sadyah bhokṣyanti'*. Its reading *Śūdra* after *Avanti* has the variant reading *Śūra* which is confirmed by the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* itself, elsewhere and the *Harivamsa*.¹⁴ There was, however, a republic of '*Śaudrayaṇas*',

13. Sarvakṣatra Vishhrita-Vira Sabda-Jatot Skaavid-heyānam. (E.I. VII 44) "the Yaudheyas who were loath to submit, rendered proud as they were by having manifested their title of 'heroes' among all kṣatriyas" (Kielhorns translation). Wilson, V.P., Vol. II, p.133, '*Śūra-Ābhīras*' cf. *Harivamsa*, 12, 837, *Śūra Ābhīrah*.

14. Halls note in Wilson's *Viṣ*, II, 133.

deriving its name from the king Śūdra, the founder of the republic. But the texts of the *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu* here evidently mean 'Śūras—which stands for the Yaudheyas. The *Bhāgavata* and the *Viṣṇu* do not mention at all the Prārjunas, Sahasānikas, Kāks, and Kharparikas who belonged to the Nāga group, inhabiting the Eastern Mālava.

The Kāṭha Yādavas : The Kāṭhas are famous in Indian literature for their Upaniṣadic philosophy and Vedic learning. They were followers of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, and produced the *Kāṭhaka Samhita*. During Patanjali's time the Kāṭha recension was supreme and was recited in every town, according to his *Mahābhāṣya* (p. IV.3.101). Their law-book, the *Kāṭhaka-Dharma-Sūtra*, was also well known, and is believed to have been the basis of the *Viṣṇu-Smṛiti*. Their name in Hindu literature will live as long as the Upaniṣads and the *Yajurveda* live. Likewise the philosophy of the Vṛṣṇi leader and that of his cousin Nemi Nath¹⁵ are national beliefs prevalent up to the present day. The musical learnings of the Vṛṣṇis are replete in Sanskrit literature. The Kāṭha is a prominent *gotra* of Yādava-Ābhīras of Haryana and Rajasthan. Their villages are often named Kāṭhwas, Kathuwas, Kāṭh ka Nāngal, etc. These people were sturdy, warriors and hardworking.

The Epics and the Purāṇas are full of heroic deeds of the Yādavas, Vṛṣṇis, Haihayas, Ābhīras (Ahirs) Gopas, Pālas, Andhakas, Ṭuṇḍikeras, Tuṇḍakas, Daśārhas, Aśmakas, Śātvata, etc, the names the Yādavas were known by. Some writers have described them as predatory tribes, who led a turbulent life fighting for money besides grazing their cattle. In fact, the Ahirs were 'Śāstra-Vārtāupajīvi Samgh—living by arms and agriculture, including animal husbandry. They had been active participators of national development and struggle. All brāhmaṇical sources agree upon the point, that the Ābhīras were an independent people and organised a *gaṇa* (republic).¹⁶ According to V.S. Agrawala, they had a constitution, like the other *Vṛātyas*,¹⁷ to carry out their activities. They used to assemble to decide the important issues, and the decisions were taken by the members on the floor. The *Bhāgavata* explicitly states the occasion when a meeting of such a nature was summoned to determine the question of averting the impending danger.¹⁸ There is yet another reference of such a meeting when Arjuna was passing through the Ābhīradeśa with the wealth, women and children of the Vṛṣṇis after the death of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. They met to decide the question of launching an attack on Arjuna.¹⁹ The floor was dominated by the old and influential members of the tribe,²⁰ as it happens in the *Khap*/caste *panchayats* of today.

As the periods of different events in the history of India are not definite, we do not know exactly the period of the Ābhīra republics. D.R. Bhandarkar,²¹ however, on the evidences of *Mricchakaṭika* of 'Kṣudrka and *Pritijñayaugandharāyaṇa* of

15. Bhagwan (Tirthankar) Neminatha of the Jaina religion, was the cousin of Bhagwan Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The Yādavas in great number accepted Jain *Dharma* and *Ahiṃsa* as a way of life and philosophy.

16. *Mbh.*, VI, 10, 46; *Sabhāparva*, XXIX, 8; *Mārkandeya* 49, 50.

17. Agrawal, V.S., *Pāṇinikālina Bhārata*, Benares, 2012 V.S., p. 43.

18. *Bhāgavata*, X, 11, 21.

19. *Viṣṇu*, V, 38, 18, *Mbh.* XVI, 7, 223, 8270.

20. *Hari*, Ch. 9, pp. 6-9.

21. Notes on Ancient History of India, *Indian Culture*, I, pp. 15-16.

Bhāṣa, has endeavoured to prove that King Caṇḍapadyota of Avanti was an Ābhīra. He argues that Āryaka, the grandson of Pridyota and nephew of king Pālaka, a character in the *Mricchakaṭika*, was an Ābhīra. The highly civilized Pradyotas ruled in *circa* sixth century B.C. It seems that in addition to their *gaṇas* they had also adopted monarchical form of rule, or perhaps both these systems co-existed at that period.

Later on they came into close contact with the Śakas. References to Śaka overlordship over the Ābhīradeśa can be seen in Ptolemy's geography. In the 1st century B.C., Ābhīradeśa formed one of the provinces of Indo-Scythia. From the fact that the Śakas stepped into the shoes of the Greeks, W.W. Tarn suggests that Demetrius I, the son of Euthydemus, the king of Bactria was the first to conquer the country of the Ābhīras.²² A.K. Narayan refutes W.W. Tarn and suggests that the tradition of the great conquests of Demetrius in India rests entirely on slender threads of evidence.²³ However it is borne out from the Junagarh inscription of Rūdradāman I that the Śakas continued their occupation of Ābhīradeśa and Gujarat in the 1st century A.D.²⁴ A record of Rūdrabhūti, the commander-in-chief of Śaka *strapa* Rūndrasimha III, dated, 191 A.D. indicates²⁵ that the Ābhīras were patronised by the Śakas, and held responsible positions under them. It mentions that Bāpaka, the father of Rūdrabhūti was a commander-in-chief of the Śaka army is evidently the proof of the fighting character and high position of Ābhīras in the society at that time.

Tradition of the earliest kingdoms of the Ābhīras, has been preserved by Vātsyāyana, the author of *Kāmasūtra*,²⁶ in the first century B.C. It mentions an Ābhīra King of Kotta. Kotta happened to be either in Gujarat or in Rajasthan. The rise of the Ābhīras was not limited to Gujarat only, but the field of their activities extended up to Mahārāṣṭra or even beyond that. The Āndhra Empire of History also belonged to Ābhīras or Andhakas or Andhras of Purāṇas. They have also been referred to as Āndhra-bhṛtyas in the sPurāṇas who were famous rulers.²⁷

Early classical authors like Megasthenes, and others, who utilised his memoirs speak of the kingdoms of the eastern part of the Peninsula only. The western side formed a part of the kingdom of Candrocottas (Cadragupta) and hence evidently it has not been mentioned separately. Thus we are informed that 'Herakles begot a daughter in India whom he called Paṇḍaia. To her he bequeathed the southern portion of India extending upto the sea. He assigned 365 villages to her rule giving orders that one village should each day bring to the treasury the royal tribute, so that the queen might always have the assistance of those men whose turn it was to pay the tribute in coerce those who were defaulters in their payments.'²⁸ The account shows that the Greek ambassador must have heard of the Pāṇḍya territory,

22. Tarn, W.W., *op.cit.*, p. 142.

23. Narayan, A.K., *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1957, p. 44.

24. Raychaudhary, *Political History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1938, p. 371.

25. *I. A.*, X, p.157-8; *E. I.*, XVI, p. 236.

26. The date of '*Kāmasūtra*', according to D.S. Trivedi, is 593. B.C. According to him '*Mricchakaṭika*' of Śūdraka was also composed in the same year. See, *Indian Chronology*, *op.cit.*, p. 23.

27. Mirashi, V.V., "*Inscriptions of the Kalachuri – Chedi Era*", CII, IV, Part I, Ootacamunda, 1955, p. XXV, No.1.

28. Sasri, K.A.N., *Foreign Notices of South India*, *op.cit.*, p. 41.

possible with its capital Madhurā, implying that it was a colony of the Yādavas to whose clan Herakles (Vāsudeva) belonged. These Pāṇḍyas mentioned themselves as Yādavas in their all regnal records.

Magasthenes further speaks of two important kingdoms on the eastern coast, the kingdom of Kalinga and of Āndhra. We are informed that *Kalingae* possessed sixty thousand foot-soldiers, one thousand horsemen and seven thousand elephants, while *Andirae* or the Āndhras had numerous villages and thirty towns defended by walls and towers and they supplied the king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants.²⁹ Pliny who died in A.D. 79 and who drew his materials from Megasthenes and others refers to the Andhras also.

The earliest historical reference to the trans-Vindhyan region is found in the *Aitareya*, which refers to Bhīma, the king of Vidarbha, and also to the Sātvats whose kings were styled as Bhojas.³⁰ It is a well known historical fact that the Sātvats were a branch of the Yādavas who are condemned in the *Rgveda* as *dāsa*.³¹ In a passage of the earliest Aryan document the Yadus alongwith the Turvasas are described as being brought to India by Indra through the sea.³²

R.P. Chanda maintains that the Yadus belonging to the Alpine stock came from Western Asia and differed from Nordic Aryans in race and culture.³³ Depending on this false (erroneous) theory Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya infers that if the Sātvats were of Yādava origin they may also be considered to be *homo Alpinus* who possibly were the makers of the *Outer Band Aryan culture*.³⁴ But the theory of Aryan migration is concocted by the foreign scholars. The Sātvats were Yādavas and belonged to south India. Their descendents in the south came to be known as Satiyaputtas. K.A.N. Sastri points out that Satiya corresponds not to (Sanskrit) Satya, but to Tamil Atiya and *Putra* is *magan*, later *mān* in Tamil, so that Satiyaputra denoted the territory of the Tamil chieftain Adigaman (of Tadagur) who was quite prominent in the *Sangam* period and might have risen into prominence earlier.³⁵ But it is mere speculation.

JAISALMER BHATṬI-YĀDAVAS

The Western part of Jaisalmer was called Sauvīr, Hem Chandra Raychaudhary has tried to establish similarity of this area with Rohari-Khairpur area of Sindh, where ruled the Bhaṭṭi Kṣatriyas.³⁶ The Ābhīras and Sauvīras have been mentioned together in the *Bhāgavata*³⁷—

29. M^cCrindle, *Ancient India*, op.cit., pp.137-41.

30. *Ait. vii*, 34, viii, 14.

31. *Rg*, X, 62.10.

32. *Rg*, vi, 20.12.

33. *Indo-Aryan Races*, op.cit., pp. 18-20, 40ff.

34. Chattopadhyaya, Sudhakar, *Some Early Dynasties of South India*, Delhi, 1974, pp. 7-8.

35. *Comprehensive History of India*, op.cit., p. 500.

36. *Political History of India*, p. 95.

37. *Bhag*, 1-10-35.

(Sauvirābhīryo parāṇa). At some distance from Jaisalmer were the regions of modern Alwar, Bharatpur and Mathura, which was jointly called 'Surasena' after the Yādava king Surasena.

At present, Jaisalmer is a district of Rajasthan State of the Indian republic and situated in western part of it. The areas, around Jaisalmer have been called 'Māḍa', and this term, along with 'Travani' and Valla, has been in the Ghatiālā inscription of the Pratihāra ruler Kakkuka. On this basis, it is inferred that 'Valla mandal' and Mada areas were adjoining to one another. Sauvira was in the west of Jaisalmer; in the east were the Valla mandal and Travani which were often added politically in the Mada. Beyond these was Surāṣṭra-Saurāṣṭra or Sorath. The presence of Ābhīras (here) have been mentioned in yuddhakand of the Rāmāyana³⁸ and also in the Ghatiālā inscription of Kakkuka.

Sauvira is also mentioned with Sindh; 'Sindhu-Sauvira', Harṣavardhan, of the Puṣyabhūti dynasty, conquered Sindh, but did not annex the kingdom.³⁹ The Chinese traveller, Huen Tsang visited Sindha in 641 A.D. where he found the 'Śūdra dynasty' ruling.⁴⁰ Perhaps the king was called so due to being Buddhist. Its title was Rai, and its capital was Alor. According to C.V. Vaidya⁴¹ the ruler of Sind was "Sahāsi of the Maurya clan, a branch of which ruled at Chitor. Subject to Sahāsi were three or four smaller kingdoms ruled by Jat and Kṣatriya princes the chief two being the Lohana princes of Brahmanabad and the Rajput princes of Swistan".

Some time about 650 A.D. Sahāsi fell ill and died without issue. And his kingdom was seized by his minister Chacha, a brahmana (or of that religion), and an ambitious, energetic and unscrupulous man. The Chachanāmā relates that he did so with that assistance and by instigation of Sahasi's queen who had fallen in love with him. Chacha married the widow of Sāhasi and established his own dynasty in the kingdom. He also repulsed the attack of the king of Chitor situated in Sindh, and not in Rajasthan as believed (by many historians) who was a relative of Sāhasi, and a Buddhist.

Chacha was a bigoted Hindu and his usurpation appears to have been actuated by religious motives also. The Chachanāmā relates that Chacha made certain rules by which he degraded the turbulent Lohanas and Jats in social position. He made it a rule that they should not carry swords except on occasions of urgent necessity, that they should not wear silken cloth, that they should use scarfs of black or red colour, that they should ride horses without saddle, that they must walk about bare-headed out, have with them dogs to distinguish them and that they should supply firewood to the ruler of Brahmanabad, serve as guides and spies, and be trustworthy and honest. His son, and Muhamed Kasim, the Arab ruler of Sindh, also enforced the same conditions.⁴²

An attack was also made by a Bhaṭṭi king of the desert, that is, what Bahawalpur or Jaisalmer now are.⁴³ It clearly proves the presence of Bhaṭṭi-power in that area to some time

38. Rama, Śloka 31-35.

39. Bhandarkar, D.R., 'Foreign Elements in Indian Population', IA, 21.

40. Watters, 2.252.

41. History of Medieval Hindu India, Vol. I, p.161.

42. Ibid., pp. 166-167.

43. Ibid., p. 167, fn.

before 712 A.D. when it was conquered by the Arabs. The Chinese traveller describes in his memoirs the existence of Hindu rule from Herat to Kandhar.⁴⁴ It may be safely inferred that the Yādavas acquired, inhabited and ruled that part with the power of their sword and sagacity. The *Khyats* describe that the Yādava king Gaja founded Gajani or Gajanipur. Tod⁴⁵ takes it to be Gajani of Afghanistan, but according to the findings of Cunningham it was somewhere near Rawalpindi (of Pakistan), the place known as Gajipur or Gajanipur.⁴⁶ This proves extension of the Yādava power in the north-west of India in the early period of the history. This needs further study.

The expansion of the Yādavas, according to Rajbali Pandey, had been from south-east, and not from north-west. As stated elsewhere, there is clear mention of the Yādavs in the *Rgveda*, alongwith other branches of the *Candravamsa*. The Yādava-Ābhīras were present in the pre and post Bhārata-war period. Arjuna was attacked by the Ābhīras on his way back from Dwārakā with the members of the family of Sri Kṛṣṇa.

The Yādava kingdom of Simhapur⁴⁷ flourished in Jalandhar district of Panjab, in the *Mahābhārata* period. The title of these rulers was Varman. In this vicinity there was another Yādava kingdom in Kṛṭpur, which has also been mentioned in the *Prayaga Prasasti* of Samundragupta. For how much period these states existed, is not known. But according to one inscription found in Lakhāmandal of Jaunsar Tahsil of Dehradun, the Simhapur kingdom of the Yādavas existed, atleast, from *Kaliyuga* to sixth century A.D. Simhapur and Kṛṭpur are heavily inhabited by Yādava-Ābhīras. The Chinese traveller describes Simhapur in the first half of the seventh century. The ruler of Simhapur kingdom was present in the State-Council of the Pāla king, Dharmapāla, in Kānyakubja in eighth century.⁴⁸ There is a long history of the presence of the Yādavas in Panjab from ancient past and upto eighth century. The rulers of these states might belong to other branches of the Yādavas, as they do not find mention in the history of the *Jādama-Bhāṭtis*.

North east of Jaisalmer, in Bikaner division, the remainings of pre-Harappan civilisation have been found in excavation of the Kali Banga river.⁴⁹ In East, the existence of the pre-historic man has been proved in the vicinity of the Luni river in the Marwar region. In West, the archaeological remains of human civilisation have been found in Mohen-jo-daro and Kotadāji. All these show that Jaisalmer too had been definitely a part of this civilisation. Then there are ample literary and archaeological proofs of the existence of the Yādava-Ābhīras in this region. The opinion of scholars like Rajbali. Pandey is based on facts that the creators of the Sindhu and Harappa civilizations were these Yādava-Ābhīras. When this caste was inhabiting and dominating politically this whole region, then who else, other than these Yādava-Ābhīras could be the creator of this civilization? We would not have to go far from this region to locate the 'Aberia'

44. Gahlot, Jagdish Singh, *Rajputana Ka Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 648.

45. Tod, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 175.

46. *Archaeological Report*, Vol. II, p.20.

47. *The Lakha-mandal prasasti*, EI., pp. 11-12.

48. Rajbali Pandey, *Yaduvamsa Ka Itihasa*, pp. 211-12.

49. See, *Indian Archaeology*, 1960-61, pp. 31-32, 1962-63, pp. 20-31, *Researcher*, Vol. I., p. 37; *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, pp. 39-40.

of Ptolemy, and the 'Abiravana' of ancient history, which are the proofs of being the abode of the Ābhīras. They find mention in the *Mahābhārata* time and again, before and after the *Bhārata* war.⁵⁰ They were one of the people whom Nakula won before the *Rājasūya* the Pāndavas performed. Then they were in Sindh and Panjab. Some scholars call them a tribal people, which only means that they had a culture different than the so-called Aryan culture or urban culture. They had their own language, called *Ābhīrī*, which is the mother of modern Hindi (language), scholars are of the opinion that the origin of the Prakrit is the result of the heavy mixture of the *Ābhīrī*.⁵¹ Dandī is of the opinion that *Apabhraṃsa* is the poetic language made of words of *Ābhīra* influence.⁵² The *Ābhīras* also influenced and contributed in the development of literary *Sauraseni* and *Mahārāṣṭri*. The Yādava-*Ābhīras* gave literary form to their dialect, nay language. As the influence of the *Ābhīra* kings increased, so spread the area of *Apabhraṃsa* from its origin in West to East and North as a style of its own. The *Vrachat* (*Vraja*) of Sind is the synonym of *Ābhīrī*.⁵³ The influence and contribution of *Ābhīrī* and *Ābhīras* on and to various languages of India and Pakistan requires fresh research and estimation by scholars. The *Ābhīras* and Gurjars influenced and contributed to the language, culture and history of this country. Jats also did not lag behind. At times, it seems that they belonged to the same stock, as these caste names have been used interchangeably for one another.

Scholars are of the view that Prakrit came into existence before Sanskrit, the former was the language of the masses, whereas the latter was of the elite class. Vākpati-Rāja in his *Gauḍabāho* describes Prakrit as the origin and god of all languages.⁵⁴ Prakrit and *Apabhraṃsa* were the languages of the Yādava—*Ābhīras*.

It is futile to discuss whether the *Ābhīras* were Aryans or not because it was an adjective, and not a separate race or caste. The *Ābhīras* of Sindh (Indus) and Panjab were termed as (*Mahāśūdras*) by Kātyāyana (4/1/4). Patanjali, by citing an example *Śudrābhīram* (1-2-72 va. 6), means by *Śūdras* of general and the *Ābhīras* of particular type of *Śūdras*. The *Śūdras* was a neighbouring State of the *Ābhīras* in Sindh. According to R.P. Chanda,⁵⁵ the Saurastrians, whom Bodhāyana calls a mixed race, and the *Ābhīras*, who have been called *mlechha* in the *Mahābhārata* (xvi. 7.63) came into power in Western India after the fall of the Yādavas. The Yādava states were also called '*Anārya*' (non-Aryan), because in them majority of the people who dwelt were the *Ābhīras*... They spoke *Ābhīrī*—an Aryan dialect, and they were Indo-Afghani people. R.P. Chanda's ignorance of the Yādavas and *Ābhīras*, of their origin and culture also is quite explicit. Copying foreign scholars, he also mixed the simple facts and tried to create complexities. If their language was an Aryan dialect, then why it was called *Ahīrī* and *Ābhīrī*, and if the language was an Aryan dialect, then why not its speakers were Aryans? As shown in this part of the book, the expansion of these *Ābhīras* did

50. *Mbh.*, VI-10-66-46.

51. *Hindi Sahitya Ka Brhat Itihas*, ed. Rajbali Pandey, Kasi, V.S. 2014, Vol. I, p. 718.

52. *Kāvyadarsa*, 1.32.

53. Keith, A.B., *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1953, pp. 33-34.

54. Rajbali Pandey, *op.cit.*, p. 367.

55. Chanda, R.P. *The Indo-Aryan Races*, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

not remain confined to Panjab and Sindh only, they went beyond that and reached up to central Asia. Some of the modern Afghans are also their scions and still profess to be so. Now proofs are available on the basis which now it can be said that the inhabitants of Lothal were related to the Bharawar-Ahirs of Gujrat. Some historians have tried to connect the Ābhīras with those Alpine people whose remains have been found from the graves of Harappa along with the Dravids and Aryans.⁵⁶ Now it is again catching the ear in a round about manner. As we have stated elsewhere that the Ābhīras or Ahirs, that is, the Yādavas were the prominent architects and creators of Dravid civilization who spread from south to north and contributed their best to create the same type of civilisation in the north-west, that is in Mohen-jo-daro, Harappa, Lothal, Kali Sindh, Kali Banga, etc. Now historical researches have proved that these so called cities of Indus civilization were not remote and separate civilizations, but a part of that great Ābhīra-Ahir-Yādava civilization whose remains are explicitly present right from Tamilnadu to Afghanistan. This civilization spread via Karmāṭaka, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Panjab, Sindh, Western Uttar Pradesh, Western Madhya Pradesh, etc.

These were the areas which were inhabited and ruled by the Yādava - Ahirs. They were known by different nomenclature in different parts of the country. If we draw a line to connect these cities of the so called Indus civilization, almost straight line shall be drawn from Kot Dāji or Harappa to such cities in Karnataka or Tamilnadu being an equidistant from the sea. Is it not strange that these Yādavas did not go very far from the sea in the early ancient times? Even if they go in the *Mahābhārata* time upto Mathurā, they again return to Dwārakā, very important sea-port of those times. We find mention of the Yadus being brought by Indra⁵⁷ through the sea-fare. We also find their abodes in north-west (India), in addition to south and south-west. We find no mention of the Yādavas, in earliest times, in the eastern part of India. Brahmvarta is their one of the best homeland in the north, which later on, became famous as Ahirayana-Hariyana-Haryana of today. Even Manu eulogizes this to be the model of all countries and the people as the ideals for others in the world.

But all the times were not the same. The mighty and valiant Ahirs turned into tyrants, obnoxious, haughty, narrow-minded, selfish and cruel, and that caused their fall. Indiscipline, attitude of defiance of rules and authority and ignorance became vogue in the Ahirs, and ultimately they were hated by one and all. They forget their past traditions and became *śūdras* in real sense of the term.

The Bhaṭṭis

Describing the *Panjab Castes*, Ibbetson writes (pp.144-145) about them :

“Bhaṭṭi, the Panjab form of the Rajputana word Bhāti, is the title of the great modern representatives of the ancient *Yadyuvansi* royal Rajput family, descendants of Kṛṣṇa and

56. Rao, S.R., *Lothal and the Indus civilization*, N. Delhi, 1973, p. 157.

57. Rg. I. 174.9; IV. 30.17; V. 31.8; VI. 20.12; VII. 45.1.

therefore of Lunar race. Their traditions tell that they were in very early times driven across the Indus; but that returning, they dispossessed the Langah, Joya, and others of the country south of the lower Satluj some seven centuries ago, and founded Jaisalmer. This state they still hold (in 1881), though their territory has been greatly circumscribed since the advent of the Rathor; but they still form a large portion of the Rajput subjects of the Rathor Rajas of Bikaner. At one time their possessions in those parts included whole of Sirsa and the adjoining portions of Hissar, and the tract is still known as Bhaṭṭiana. The story current in Hissar is that Bhaṭṭi, the leader under whom the Bhaṭṭis recrossed the Indus, had two sons Dusal and Jaisal, of whom the latter founded Jaisalmer while the former settled in Bhaṭṭiānā. From Dusal sprang the Sindhu and Barar Jat tribes (see section 436), while his grandson Rājapāla was the ancestor of the Wattu. According to general Cunningham the Bhaṭṭis originally held the Saltrange tract and Kashmir, their capital being Gajnipur, or the site of modern Rawalpindi; but about the second century before Christ they were driven across the Jehlum by the Indo-Scythians, and their leader, the Raja Rasalu of Panjab tradition, founded Sialkot. The invaders, however followed them up and dispersed them, and drove them to take refuge in the country south of Satluj, though their rules in the Kashmir Valley remained unbroken till 1339 A.D.

“The Bhaṭṭi is still by far the largest and most widely distributed of the Rajput tribes of Panjab. It is found in immense numbers all along the lower, Satluj and Indus, though on the former often and on the latter always classed as Jat. It is hardly less numerous on the Chenab, the Upper Satluj, and the Beas, it is naturally strong in Bhaṭṭiānā, there is a large colony in the Delhi district while it is perhaps most numerous of all in the seats of its ancient power, in Sialkot, Gujarat and the Salt-range country. And if we reckon as Bhaṭṭi the Sindhu and Barar Jats of the Malava who are admittedly of Bhaṭṭi origin, we shall leave no portion of Panjab proper in which a large Bhaṭṭi population is not to be found. Many of those returned as Bhaṭṭi are also returned as belonging to other tribes, but these form a wholly insignificant fraction of the whole; and the only large numbers appearing twice over appear to be the 1,100 Naipal of Ferozpur already alluded to, 2,000 Bhaṭṭi Tunwar (sic) in Rawalpindi, 2,400 Khokhar and 1,600 Kharral in Bahawalpur, 1,700 Kashmiri Jats in Gujranwala. In this last case the word is probably Bhat, a great Kashmiri tribe, and not Bhaṭṭi... Almost every menial or artisan caste has a Bhaṭṭi clan, and it is often the most numerous of all. “Yet it is strange, if the Bhaṭṭi did hold so large a portion of Panjab as Cunningham alleges, how almost universally they trace their origin to Bhatner in Bhaṭṭiana or at least to its neighbourhood.

Either they were expelled wholly from the Upper Panjab and have since returned to their ancient seats, or else the glory of their late has overshadowed that of their earlier dynasties, and Bhatner and Bhaṭṭiana have become the city and country of the Bhaṭṭi from which all good Bhaṭṭi trace their origin. The population of Bikaner is largely composed of Bhaṭṭi, while Jaisalmer is a Bhaṭṭi State; and it seems impossible that if the Bhaṭṭi of the higher Satluj are immigrants and not the descendants of the residue of the old Bhaṭṭi who escaped expulsion, they should not have come largely from both these States, and moreover should not have followed the river valleys in their advance. Yet the tradition almost always skips all intermediate steps, and carries us straight back to that ancient city of Bhatner on the banks

of the long dry Ghaggar, in the Bikaner territory bordering on Sirsa. The Waṭṭu Bhaṭṭi of Montgomery, while tracing their origin from Raja Salvahan, the father of Raja Rasalu of Sialkot, say that their more immediate ancestors came from Bhatner; the Nun Bhaṭṭi of Multan trace their origin to the Delhi country; while the Bhaṭṭi of Muzaffargarh, Jhang, Sialkot, Jehlum and Pindi, all look to Bhatner as the home of their ancestors. It is probable either that Bhatner is used merely as a traditional expression or that when the Ghaggar dried up or the Rathor conquered Bikaner, the Bhaṭṭi were driven to find new homes in the plains of Panjab. Indeed Wilson tells me that in Sirsa, or the old Bhaṭṭiana, the term Bhaṭṭi is commonly applied to any Musalman Jat or Rajput from the direction of the Satluj, as a generic term almost synonymous with Rath or Pachhada.

In Multan the Nun, a Bhaṭṭi clan, are the dominant tribe in the Shujabad tahsil, where they settled some four or five hundred years ago. The Mitru Bhaṭṭi of Multan came from Bikaner. The Bhaṭṭi of Montgomery are probably Waṭṭu and Khichi. The Bhaṭṭi of Jhang hold a considerable tract called Bhaṭṭiora in the Chiniot uplands north of the Chenab. They came first from Bhatner to the right bank of the Jehlam near the Shahpur border, and thence to Bhattiora. They are described as "a fine race of men, industrious agriculturists, hardly at all in debt, good horse-breeders and very fond of sport. They do very little cattle-lifting, but are much addicted to carrying of each other's wives". The Bhaṭṭi of the Gujranwala *bar*, where they are the "natural enemies of the Virk, are descended from one Dhur who eighteen generations ago left Bhatner, and settled in the Nur Mahal jungles as a grazier and freebooter. His grandson went further on to the banks of the Ravi, and his son again moved up into the uplands of Gujranwala. The modern descendants of these men are described as "a muscular and noblelooking race of men, agriculturists more by constraint than by natural inclination, who keep numerous herds of cattle which graze over the pasture lands of the *bar*, only plough just sufficient to grow food for their own necessities and are famous as cattle-lifters and notorious thieves". The Bhaṭṭi of Gujranwala enjoyed considerable political importance in former times, and they still hold 86 villages in that district. In Sialkot the Bhaṭṭi claim descent from Bhoni seventh in descent from their eponymous ancestor Bhaṭṭi, who came to Gujranwala from Bikaner, and thence to Sialkot. None of these Bhaṭṭi of the *bar* will give their daughters to the neighbouring Jat tribes, though they will take wives from among them without scruple. In the Saltrange Tract the Bhaṭṭi seem to hold a very subordinate position as Bhaṭṭi, though it may be that some of the innumerable Rajput tribes of those tracts may consider themselves Bhaṭṭi as well as whatever their local name may be. In Kapurthala and Jalandhar they have lost position greatly in recent times. Till dispossessed by the Ahluwalia Sikhs, the Rais of Kapurthala were Bhaṭṭi Rajputs".

The Waṭṭu

The Waṭṭu are a Bhaṭṭi clan, of whose origin the Hisar story has been given above. The Sirsa tradition appears to be that one Raja Junhar, a descendant of the Bhaṭṭi Raja Salavahan of Sialkot, was settled in Bhatner, where he had two sons Achal and Batera. From the latter

sprang the Sidhu and Barar Jats. The former again had two sons Jaipala and Rajapala, of whom Jaipala was the ancestor of the Bhaṭṭi proper, and Rajapala of the Waṭṭu. The Waṭṭu date their conversion to Islam by Baba Farid from the time of Khiwa who ruled at Haveli in Montgomery, and was succeeded by the famous Waṭṭu chief Lakhe Khan. They hold both banks of the Satluj in the Sirsa district, and the adjoining parts of Montgomery and Bahawalpur, from Beggehi 16 miles (25km) above Fazilka, to Phulahi 70 miles below it. Above them lie the Dogars, below them the Joy. They are said to have crossed from the right bank of the river and spread into the then almost uninhabited prairies of Sirsa only some five generations ago, when Fazil Dalel Rana came from Jhang near Haveli and settled the unoccupied riverain. There is also a small section of them on the Ravi in the Montgomery district. It is not impossible that some of the Waṭṭu have returned themselves as Bhaṭṭi simply, for some few have returned themselves under both heads. The tribe was formerly almost purely pastoral, and as turbulent and as great marauders as other pastoral tribes of the neighbourhood; and the habits of the Ravi Waṭṭu, who gave trouble in 1857, have hardly changed. But the Satluj Waṭṭu who possess but little jungle have taken very generally to agriculture and Captain Elphinstone says that "some of their estates are well cultivated, their herds have diminished, and many of them can not now be distinguished in appearance from peaceful Arains or Khokhars. The change in their habits has indeed been remarkable, as they still speak with exultation of the Kardars they used to kill during the Sikhs rule, and the years in which they paid no revenue because the Sikhs were unable or afraid to collect it." Mr. Purser describes the Waṭṭu as 'priding themselves upon their politeness and hospitality. They are of only moderate industry, profuse in expenditure on special occasions, indifferent to education and exceedingly fond of cattle'. He classes them however with the Kathia, Kharral, Sial, Bahniwals, Biloch and Joya as 'essentially rober tribes and more or less addicted to cattle-stealing'. This I suspect simply means that these the dominant tribes of the tract, who look upon a pastoral as higher than an agricultural life

As described above, Ibbetson has shown Bhaṭṭis under the heading 'Rajputs', their number in various districts of Panjab in 1881 census was an under :

	<i>Bhaṭṭi</i>	<i>Waṭṭu</i>
Delhi	5,935	—
Gurgaon	118	—
Karnal	466	—
Hissar	3,775	401
Rohtak	292	—
Sirsa	7,232	3,786
Ambala	2,179	—
Ludhiana	2,308	—
Jalandhar	3,027	—
Hoshiar pur	3,767	—
Kangra	55	—

Amritsar	10,610	—
Gurdaspur	9,749	—

	<i>Bhaṭṭi</i>	<i>Wattu</i>
Silkot	12,375	—
Lahore	15,854	86
Gujaranwala	9,477	5
Firozepur	12,372	1,509
Rawalpindi	30,304	—
Jhelam	10,430	—
Gujrat	2,022	—
Shahpur	13,476	134
Multan	14,890	100
Jhang	17,392	246
Montgomery	12,600	11,190
Muzaffargarh	2,878	27
Dera Ismail Khan	76	—
Dera Ghazi Khan	130	—
Bannu	780	—
British Territory	204,569	17,484

	<i>Bhaṭṭi</i>	<i>Wattu</i>
Patiala	3,035	95
Nabha	676	6
Kapurthala	10,632	8
Jind	485	—
Faridkot	1,282	46
Total Eastern Plains	16,323	155
Bahawalpur	21,657	3,442
Total Hill States	282	107
Total Native States	38,262	3,704
Grand Total	242,831	21,188

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

DISTRIBUTION OF YĀDAVAS

At the census of India in 1881, an attempt was made to obtain the materials for a complete list of all castes and tribes as returned by the people themselves and entered by the Census Enumerators in their schedules. Though instructions were sent to each Province and Native state directing that the number of each caste be recorded, yet in some cases, e.g., in Rajputana and Central India, however, only large castes and tribes were shown in the final list, and in the North-West Provinces (of that time) the list of the castes was seriously incomplete.¹ 'The Ahirs', according to the *Compendium*² contain 'three wellknown subdivisions, the Yaduvans, the Nandvans and the Gwalvans. The first of these is found in the Panjab, the second in the Central Doab, while all the Ahirs South and East of them belong to the third or Gwalvans division. In Bengal they call themselves no longer Ahirs, but Gwallas, in the Deccan, they call themselves Gaolis.

Following sub-divisions and synonyms of Ahirs were shown in the *Compendium*³:

AHIR 9271356

Name and Locality		Strength
Ahir Sonar	Hyderabad	14
Dhandhor	North-West Provinces	8
Gaolon	Berar, Central Provinces	2453
Gaoli	Berar, Bombay, Baroda, Hyderabad	263195
Gaur	Central Provinces	214936
Gwalvansi	Hyderabad	2
Gawar	Bombay	26
Gawaria	Ajmer	423
Goala	Assam	13020
Gwala	Bengal, Panjab	39,93,008

1. Kitts, Eustace J., *A Compendium of the Castes and Tribes found in India*, Gurgaon, 1982 (Reprint).

2. *Ibid.*, vii.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

	Adiyan	Ahir	Dhangar	Erra Golla	Ghosi	Golla	Kadu Golla	Kama	Kuruwba golla	Mushiti golla	Uru golla	Yadavula
	3036	92,71,356	11,91,270	27,108	24,907	1258786	44,717	22021	475598	15066	57916	105443
Ajmer	—	2432			—		253	—	—	—	—	—
Assam	—	13020	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bengal	—	39,92,949		38484	—		—	59237	—	—	—	—
Berar	—	30166		74559	—	—	1766	—	—	—	—	—
Bombay	—	40,211	—	—	—	5852	—	—	—	—	—	—
Central	—	836132	—	—	8636	6074	—	—	3076	—	—	—
Provinces												
Coorg	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Madras	3036	—	—	27108	—	1075.364	—	22021	180557	543	—	105426
North-	—	35,84,193	—	—	12475	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
West Provinces												
Panjab	—	1,73,699	—	—	3543	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Baroda	—	4774	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Central	—	2,46,376	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
India												
Cochin	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hyderabad	—	2,16,751	—	—	—	97989	—	—	—	14523	—	17
Mysore	—	—	—	—	—	6681	44,717	—	291965	—	57916	—
Rajputana	—	1,30,653	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Travancore	—	—	—	—	—	5823	—	—	—	—	—	—

Precisely the list is incomplete. It does not contain many other subdivisions of Ahirs or Yādavas. For instance, Yadavu, shown in the List I at no. 854 (p.19) has not been included in the above list, nor Dhangar, Erra Golla, Gadaria (? many of the Yādavas were shepherds), Ghosi, Golla, Kadu Golla, Karna Golla, Mushti Golla, Pālli, Uru Golla, and above all, Adiyān, not to mention of other synonyms of the Ahirs and Yādavas. On the basis of this *Compendium*, following was the numerical strength of the Yādavas in 1881 Census (List I):⁴

Golla 1,258,786

<i>Name</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>Strength</i>
Edayen	Trav.	5823
Gauligar	Mys.	6681
Gonda Golla	Mad.	595
Idaiyar	C.P.	28
Kakushta Golla	Mad.	503
Kannadi Golla	Mad.	727
Muní Golla	Mad.	207
Peddeti Golla	Mad.	981
Yunalor	Bombay	14

Yaduvansi Rajput Ber.C.P. 16895

List VI : Distribution of Large Castes & Tribes : Showing, for all castes and tribes numbering 100,000 and upwards, their strength in every District in which they exceed 25,000 in number; together with an Abstract showing political distribution all castes in the above List which form more than ten per cent of the total population of the District in which they occur.

AHIR (Gwalla) 92,71,356

BENGAL

<i>District</i>	<i>Strength</i>	<i>%age</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Strength</i>	<i>%age</i>
Durbhanga	349112	13.26	Midnapur	53994	2.14
Bhagalpur	343830	17.49	Hooghly	46134	4.56
Gaya	309871	14.58	Trib St. Chota		
Muzaffarpur	299127	11.58	Nagpur	45752	6.75
Saran	256513	11.25	Singhbhum	38672	8.52
			Murshidabad	35411	2.89
			Manbhum	29081	2.75

4. *Ibid.*, pp.2-19.

<i>District</i>	<i>Strength</i>	<i>%age</i>
Shahabad	242721	12.35
Patna	217845	12.40
Monghyr	217616	11.05
Champaran	169274	9.83
Cuttack	140870	8.10
Purnea	131629	7.12
Hazaribagh	129445	11.72
Tribe St. Orissa.	123818	8.43
Nuddea	93382	4.63
Santhal Parg.	88544	5.65
Lohardaga	78677	4.89
Burdwan	70262	5.05
Balasore	69581	7.36
Puri	66662	7.50
Bankorah	59652	5.73
24 Pargana	56682	3.50
Dacca	25327	1.20

CENTRAL PROVINCES

Raipur	142213	10.12
Bilaspur	84696	8.33
Sambalpur	79220	11.42
Jabalpur	32951	4.79
Bhandara	45259	6.49
Seoni	31835	9.51
Balaghat	30526	8.96
Sagar	30238	5.35
Chindwara	30000	8.05

PANJAB

Gurgaon	64884	10.11
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CENTRAL INDIA

Rewa	61586	4.72
Orchha	39612	12.72

*Dhangar 11,91,270***BOMBAY**

Kaladgi	94786	14.85
Dharwar	87568	9.92
Belgaum	59727	6.91
Sholapur	57704	9.91
Satara	41547	3.91
Ahmednagar	39527	5.26
Poona	34648	3.85
Khandesh	27743	2.24
S. Maratha Jrs.	39578	7.56
Kolhapur	38326	4.79
Satara Jagirs	33295	10.45

HYDERABAD

Lingasagar	56083	16.98
Bidar	54976	6.93
Shorapur	34120	11.86
Naldurg	33616	6.24
Raichor	32945	10.46
Birh	32273	5.75
Nander	31145	4.14
Aurangabad	31132	4.27
Gulbarga	28253	6.01
Parbhani	25224	4.32

YADAVULU 105443

MADRAS

S.Arcot	35657	1.96
Chengelpet	30333	3.09

North-West Provinces

Gorakhpur	307685	11.76	Etah	77819	10.29
Azamgarh	253229	15.78	Khiri	71984	8.65
Jaunpur	184019	15.21	Hardoi	70358	7.12
Basti	176298	10.81	Shahjahanpur	65216	7.61
Ghazipur	154246	15.21	Lucknow	65189	9.35
Allahabad	144619	9.81	Fatehpur	59399	8.69
Mainpuri	136563	17.04	Banda	55545	7.95
Gonda	128439	10.11	Agra	37839	3.88
Faizabad	121972	11.28	Hamirpur	28448	5.61
Bara Banki	121068	11.74	HYDERABAD		
Kanpur	117090	9.91	Elgandal	68250	7.10
Rae Barelli	114869	12.07	Khamam	58090	8.60
Sultanpur	111615	11.65	Nagur Karnul	33872	6.18
Mirzapur	111150	9.78	RAJPUTANA		
Partapgarh	104897	12.38	Jaipur	54665	2.16
Bahraich	103319	11.77	Alwar	50942	7.46
Ballia	93891	10.15			
Farukhabad	87080	9.59			
Sitapur	86808	9.06			
Etawah	85655	11.86			
Unao	84994	9.45			
Benares	80088	8.97			

ABSTRACT OF LIST VI

Showing by political distribution all castes in the above List which form more than ten per cent of the total population of the district in which they are found:

AHIR : Bihar : Patna Division

Patna	12.40	Kunbi	12.40	Muslim	12.13
Gaya	14.58			Muslim	10.97
Sahabad	12.35	Brahman	10.86	Rajput	10.54
Muzaffarpur	11.58	—		Muslim	12.25
Darbhanga	13.26	—		Muslim	11.73
Saran	11.25	Rajput	10.70	Muslim	11.80

Bhagalpur Division

Monghyer	11.05	—	—
Bhagalpur	17.49		

Chhota Nagpur

Hazaribagh	11.72
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Chhattisgarh Division

Raipur	10.12	Gond	18.63	Teli	14.48
Sambalpur	11.42	Gand	11.34		

Agra Division

Mainpur	Ahir	17.04	Chamar	13.33		
Etawah	Ahir	11.86	Chamar	14.78	Brahman	13.41
Etah	Ahir	12.87	Chamar	12.87		

Allahabad Division

Jaunpur	Ahir	15.21	Chamar	14.26	Brahman	12.35
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Benaras Division

Azamgarh	Ahir	15.78	Chamar	16.19	Musalman	13.16
Ghasipur	Ahir	15.21	Chamar	12.89	Bhar	10.86
Gorakhpur	Ahir	11.76	Chamar	12.46		
Basti	Ahir	10.81	Chamar	13.54	Brahman	11.27
Ballia	Ahir	10.15	Rajput	14.18	Brahman	11.06

Lucknow Division

Barabanki	Ahir	11.79	Kunbi	14.32	Muslim	16.61
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Faizabad Division

Faizabad	Ahir 11.28	Brahman 14.24	Chamar 12.69	Muslim. 11.52
Bahraich	Ahir 11.77			Muslim 16.31
Gonda	Ahir 10.11	Brahman 16.76		Muslim 13.26

Rai Bareli Division

Rai Bareli	Ahir 12.07	Brahman 11.8		
Sultanpur	Ahir 12.38	Brahman 12.57	Chamar 12.83	Muslim 10.60
Pratapgarh	Ahir 12.38	Brahman 14.06	Kunlu 11.04	Chamaar 10.37

Panjab

Gurgaon	Ahir 10.11	Meo 16.12	Chamar 11.15	Jat 10.02
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Central India

Orchha State	Ahir 12.72	Chamar 11.75	Brahman 10.24.
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Census of India, 1921, Vol.I, Part II. Tables (Calcutta, 1923)

Total population of India 318, 942, 480

Ahir (Goala): (Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, Central Provinces, Punjab, United Provinces, Central India, Rajasthan.

	Total	M	F
Total	9,032,861	4,703,868	4,328,993
Hindu	9,024,613	4,699,697	4,324,916
Arya	955	484	471
Jain	33	23	10
Brahmo	494	247	247
Musalman	2,124	1,117	1,007
Tribal Religions	4,641	2,300	2,341
Idaiyan (Yādavas) (Hindu) (Madras)			
	751,563	371,366	380,197
Sadgop (Hindu)			
Bengal	533,236	270,211	263,025
Assam	Goala 57,701	32,811	24,890
Bengal	Goala 583,970	323,229	260,741
Bihar & Orissa	Goala (Ahir) 3,192,242	1,609,987	1,582,255

Bombay	Ahir	174,248	91,289	82,859
C.P. & Berar	Ahir	602,747	300,911	301,836
	Gowari	155,902	77,408	78,494
Madras,				
Cochin &	Golla	906,787	454,006	462,781
Travancore	Idaiyan Yādava	751,563	371,366	380,197
Punjab	Ahir	212,889	119,800	94,089
United Provinces	Ahir	3,691,294	1,951,646	1,739,648
Central India				
(Agency) including				
Gwalior	Ahir	351,322	32,766	26,425
Hyderabad	Golla	353,993	182,188	171,805
Mysore State	Golla	155,978	79,612	76,366
Rajputana	Ahir	165,448	90,285	75,163

Census of India, 1931

Vol. I, Part II Imperial Tables, Delhi, 1933

Table XVI-Race, Tribe or Caste, p .525

V Pastoral Castes

Cattle herdsmen (A)

I. Yādava group Ahir, Ahir, Gopi, Ghoshi, Goala, Gwari, Gaura Kavundan, Idaiyan

Population	T	M	F
	14,170,032	7,301,509	6,868,523
3. Shepherds and goatherds (and weavers in wood)	Bharwad, Dhangar, Gadaria, Kuruba		
	2,816,283	1,457,227	1,359,056

Census of India, 1921

Vol.I, Part I-Report, Calcutta, 1924

Variation in Certain Castes since 1891

Caste	Persons		Percentage of Variation		
	1921	1911	1911-1921	1901-1911	1891-1901
1	2	3	4	5	6
Ahir	9,032,861	9,481,194	- 4.7	- 3.0	- 5.6
Golla	1,416,758	1,515,794	- 6.5	+ 10.9	—
Population					
India				Net Variation Percent	
	318,942,480	315,156.396	+ 1.2	+ 7.1	+ 54.7

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

SOCIAL LIFE AND CULTURE

Yādavas are an ancient people and with the passage of time have become a separate caste in the social system of India. Caste system in India is a unique institution which is not prevalent in other countries. R.G. Bhandarkar is of the opinion that caste and *Varṇa* is the same thing, and these four castes are mentioned in one of the latest hymns of the *R̥gveda*.¹ The three castes or *Varṇa*'s—Brāhmaṇa, Rājānas and Vaiśyas, were consisted of the Āryans. "These three classes formed one community, and such of the aborigines as had yielded to the Āryas, were tucked on to it as a fourth grade under the name of Dāsas, which word had now come to signify slaves or servants... In the course of time these grades became hereditary and acquired the nature of castes, and were called Brāhmaṇas, Rājānas and Vaiśyas. The fourth class came to be called Śūdras, which probably was at first the name of the aboriginal tribe which had acquired a distinct position in the community, and was afterwards generalised."²

The priests composed Brāhmaṇas (with the assent on the first syllable), i.e., songs or hymns to the gods and knew how to worship them, and were called Brāhmaṇas (with the assent on second syllable). Those who acquired political eminence and fought battles were called Rājānas. All the other Āryas were referred by the name of Vaiśyas or people generally. The Brāhmaṇas officiated as priests at sacrifices and in the ceremonies; and a great many devoted themselves to that occupation. It had been never difficult to be a Brāhmaṇa, as any person who was conversant with the ceremonies and their performance could be a Brāhmaṇa. This class of scholars, teachers, worshippers, preachers, etc. was poorly paid and they had to lead a life of 'plain living and high thinking'. Though they were respected by the Vaiśyas, they never held the highest position in the society vis-a-vis the Rājānas. Later on when the *Varṇa* or caste became established by birth in a caste, the Brāhmaṇas were forced to lead a simple life and to take a vow to devote their lives to study. Politics and war were the special occupation of the Rājānas or Kṣatriyas. They also devoted themselves to philosophy and literature; and in the *Upaniṣads* they are several times mentioned as teachers of religious philosophy, and Brāhmaṇas as learners. In the intellectual race the Kṣatriyas took a much more active part than the Brāhmaṇas. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, a prince of the name of

1. Bhandarkar, R.G., *Collected Works of R.G. Bhandarkar*, op.cit., p. 446.

2. *Ibid.*

Pravāhaṇa, the son of Jaibala (v.3), and Aśvapati, king of the Kekaya country (v.11), appear as teachers of religious truth and Brāhmaṇas as learners; and in the former passage it is even stated that the Kṣatriyas were the original possessors of that knowledge. Similarly, in the *Kauśitakibrāhmaṇopaniṣad*, we find Ajataśatru, king of Kāśī, explaining the true Brahma (n) to Bālaki the Gārgya, who had only pretended to teach it to the king, but did not know it really. The same story is told in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*. Buddha was a Kṣatriya and belonged to the Śākya clan : so was Mahāvīra who belonged to the race of the Jñātrkas. Since then the Kṣatriyas were so active at the time in propounding religious doctrines and founding sects and schools, we may very well suppose that a Kṣatriya of the name of Vāsudeva belonging to the Yādava, Vṛṣṇi, or Sātvata race founded a theistic system. Vāsudeva is introduced in the *Bhagavadgītā* and some other parts of the *Mahābhārata* as Bhagavat. that must have been one of his most prominent names, since his followers were in later times called Bhāgavatas. A Brāhmaṇa may, says Āpastamba, study the Vedas under a Kṣatriya or vaiśya teacher when reduced to that necessity. The vaiśyas followed the occupation of trade and agriculture. The Śudras were condemned to be the slave or servants of the other castes by Brāhmanic Law Books. But as a matter of fact since by that name several social groups or castes were designated, it was impossible that, that occupation should have been enough for them or have satisfied them. They often pursued an independent calling and became artisans.

Most of the ancient books are full of descriptions of the Yādava-Ābhiras. the *Bhāgavata*, along with *Harivaṃśa*, resents a graphic description of their social and professional life. They are well known in tradition, as being a pastoral community with a way of life. Roving from one place to another, in search of new pastures, with their families, cattle and all belongings, they could not settle permanently for long at one place. They chose to reside in jungles and mountainous ranges, and lead the life of wild people. Till this date they bear this habit and leave their abodes whenever they come to know about plenty of land, pastures, hilly area, etc. They do not dread, but may be dreadful for others. If the *Āmāyana*³ is to be believed, they were fierce looking (*ugradarśana*) or dreadful wild people termed as 'dasyus'. They did not hesitate to kill or loot anybody impeding their way or harming, looting or destroying their cattle. We find a number of examples in the ancient books that the main cause of early wars were the cattle; and the Yādavas never stayed behind. This tendency is still prevalent among the Yādavas who are still living in the patrol age. Stealing, though considered bad by the Yādavas, is yet prevalent among them. They are an adventurous people, and to deprive someone of something is considered an act of adventure among all backward and nomadic communities. Some of them even train their wards in this art at an early age, so that their 'brave' sons, who have no other respectable avocation may not lead a life of beggary which is hated most by the Yādavas. Not even a single beggar among the Yādavas can be found throughout the country. They can commit dacoity, steal, murder or serve as protectors or watchmen, enroll themselves in the armed forces, but shall never resort to beggary.

3. Yuddha Kāṇḍa, Sarga 22. उग्रदर्शनकर्माभो बहवस्तप दस्पनः, आभीर प्रमुखा पापाः पिबन्ति सलिलं मम तेन तत्स्पर्शनं पापं सहेयं पापकर्माभिः 30, 31

Not only in their primitive stage, but even after attaining the status of a ruling race, the Yādava-Ahīras could not give up robbery. The Ghatiyala Inscription of Pratihāra Kakkuka bears testimony to their highway robbery.⁴ Cattle lifting by them has also been referred to in Jain literature.⁵ But Ahīras were not the only caste to resort to this bad profession, all other warrior castes did so, and do even to this day.

The Yādavas, on the other hand, were protectors of cows, Brāhmaṇas and weak, donors of land to temples, ascetics, scholars, etc., and defenders of faith. There was a queer blending of extreme qualities in the Yādavas. Perhaps they are more emotional than any other community, and are led by heart than by head. At one time they are ready to sacrifice their best for nothing, at another time ready to quarrel and fight for even a small thing. They have strong characteristics. Merutungācārya, in his *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* alludes to the learning of the Ābhīras. It is referred to in the course of a discussion between a Brāhmaṇa of Malawa and one of Gujarat. During the discussion, the Gujarat Brāhmaṇ claimed that the Ābhīras and women of Gurjaradeśa were better read than the Brāhmaṇas of Malawa. Though education might have not been their avocation or first interest, yet many of them were well read and efficient at learning. But, before independence the Ahirs were regarded as stupid in many parts of the country because they seldom got any education, retained their rustic and half-aboriginal dialect, and on account of their solitary living life was dull and slow-witted in company. 'The barber's son learns to shave on the Ahir's head.' 'The cow is in league with the milkman and let him milk water into the pail'. 'Make an Ahir friend only when all castes die.' 'All the castes are of god, Ahirs have no god.' The Ahirs are hot-tempered, and their propensity for drinking often resulted in affrays, when they broke each other's head with their cattle-staffs. 'A Gavala's quarell : drunk at night and friends in the morning'. These are some of the idioms famous for Ahirs.

Summarising his findings of the Ābhīras, Bhagwan Singh Suryavanshi writes⁶ : "Thus we see how the Ābhīras, a hilly tribe of the Indian aboriginals, rose to political prominence in the second century B.C., and after a chequered political career relapsed into oblivion in the 14th century A.D. From the very beginning of their history, they were great warriors as their resistance to the Deccan Indian powers shows. Throughout the long period of their rise and fall, the Ābhīras, raided Deccan and proved their capacity to bear arms against the great powers of the age. Their disastrous campaigns started in the 10th century A.,D. and ended in the middle of the 14th century till they were completely crushed down. In the face of the joint opposition, however, they finally disappeared from the map of India as a ruling race. It seems that some of the Ābhīras took refuge in the forests and reverted to their former stage. The *Amuktamalyadā* a work by emperor Krishnadevaraya, describes them as a typical wild tribe".

Ābhīras, Kalacuris, Hoysalas, Yādavas and other Yādava rulers of the above mentioned period clashed together and did not form an alliance among themselves nor helped one

4. E.I., IX. 279.

5. Vivagasuya, ed. by A.T. Upadhye, Belgaum, 1935, 2, p. 24, f. n.

6. Op.cit., p. 51.

another as every individual ruler believed in the theory of 'either expand or perish'. Finding them clashing among themselves, some of the writers, including the above one, thought that the Ābhīras are different from the Yādavas. This was only the difference of nomenclature. Even today a Yādava opposes another Yādava in elections in a parliamentary or Assembly constituency, does not mean that they belong to different castes. The above description only proves their martial character and desire to rule over others.

Professions

As in the pastoral stage cattle breeding was their main avocation, in addition to lead a life of soldiery, they migrated with their hearths and homes to new pastures. The old and the children used to board and waggon and the young protected them armed with lathis (bamboo sticks), swords, bows and arrows from highway robberies. The Ābhīras are said to have looted the train of Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava, when he was returning from Dvārakā being accompanied by some of the members of "Śrī Kṛṣṇa's family after the death of the latter. They defeated the hero of the Mahābhārata war, and did spare him when he disclosed the identity of the members of the family of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. It clearly testifies the above contention.

✓ Before settling at a particular place, it was necessary to obtain the prior permission of the ruler of the area, but it was not always that these Ābhīras obtained prior permission. They could stand against the ruler and could be made to pay tax, possibly in kind, only after being subdued by the ruler. Otherwise they themselves would become the ruler of the place and began to rule. As they mostly occupied jungle, hilly and such area, which was generally not easily accessible to others, the petty rulers of those days did not dare to oppose the mighty and dreaded Ābhīras. That is why we find a number of Yādava-Ābhīra rulers in the early times and in above described areas. They were the early rulers of Nepal, plateau of South, Dakṣiṇāpātha, Bengal, Bihar, Gujrat, Madhyadeśa, etc. Though their number was small, they were fierce, brave, adventurous and good warriors. Later on many of them became the famous heroes of the Indian history.

Their places of living were peculiarly fortified for safety against robbery and wild beasts. It had only one gate for the animals to enter and exit, and the strong male members, and at times females also; protected this by sleeping at the door-place. The *Bhāgavata*, and the *Harivaṁśa*, describe the early cowherd settlements. Before setting on a new place in the jungle, trees were cut down and the branches of such trees were used for preparing hutments. Thorny creepers, trees and ditches were used for protection in the temporary settlements in the jungle. The hutments of the cowherds had a passage between the two huts with a drainage system, evidently primitive, for the waste water to flow. Permanent dwellings were not constructed generally, as they had to move from the place when the land became dreary and no fodder was left for cattle. So it was easier to take some part of the building material on carts from one place to another. Interestingly there is not much change in the hutments of the cowherds from the earliest times to this day. The Ābhīras are themselves good at preparing these dwellings without the help of others. Nature had made them to be self-dependent and

self-supported, and as a matter of fact they can live by their own little depending on others for anything.

The Yādavas had been lovers of nature from the very beginning. They protected the eco-system in order to protect themselves. Though they cut trees to make their dwellings yet they planted trees and protected the jungles from the so-called civilised people who devastated the treasures of jungle. The jungles protected the Yādavas in their days of clamity, against the attacks of their enemies and provided grass, leaves, wood, fruits, honey and many other provisions for them and their cattle. The Yādavas enjoyed the real pleasure of nature. They were the masters of what they beheld. the *Bhāgavata* embodies numerous sketches of their day to day life in the woodland pastures. Starting in the morning, carrying their lunch along the cattle, enjoying it at the bank of some rivulet or a pond in the pastures, singing and playing on flutes, dancing like a peacock in the jungle, playing adventurous games and taking exercise or wrestling, they used to go to distant lands to graze their cattle.

Their artistic talents and cultural attainments are often referred to in the *Purāṇas*. Their corporate life, picturised in the *Harivaṁśa* and *Bhāgavata* was full of glamour. They passed their day in the woods enjoying the bliss of nature. A scene of forest life of Ābhīras has been described in the *Bhāgavata*. Kṛṣṇa desirous of taking early meals in the forests aroused his playmates, with the charming music of his flute, issued forth with the calves, joined by other boys with their horns and rods. They reached a very beautiful spot to pass their day. Thus the party enjoyed the day, sporting, playing on flutes and horns, singing chorus. Some boys ran after the shadows of the birds, some followed the swans and some sat with cranes and some danced with peacocks.

Tending cows and preparing butter from the milk was the main profession of the Ahirs. While the men folk looked after the cows in the pastures, the women looked after the calves and the home. The women visited the market places to sell milk and butter. Śrī Kṛṣṇa prevented the maids to sell butter and milk in the market of Mathura or to give as tax to the king, as it was the first fundamental right of the cowherds to use these products for themselves. At times he organised successful strikes by the milk-maids by preventing the supply of milk and butter to Mathura. The profession of milkmen went on developing and organised later on. They formed their professional guilds, which indicates their efficiency and capability. The *Jainaprasānavyākaraṇa* enumerates the name of eighteen professional guilds, in which was included the trade union of the gopals called *gaurasāreṇi*. The existence of a trade union ensures high degree of business efficiency among the Yādavas. In the medieval period, they were not only milkmen, but adopted various professions. The *Brahmapurāṇa* records that some of them were dealing in sugar, salt and corn also,⁷ in addition to agriculture.

In pastoral age, cattle-breeding was the main occupation of the Yādavas. The Ayira of Tamil, Āhir of Gujarat and Ābhira of Sanskrit has its origin from Tamil words which shows his intimate attachment with cow. There are numerous stories of the Yādavas related with

7. *The Abhiras*, op.cit., pp. 59-60.

cow than any other caste or community. The poorer section of the Yādavas served in the houses of other well to do, whether they were Yādavas or others. They grazed the cows in return of the milk of one of the best cows out of ten, as their salary.⁸ The 'Gopālas'—cow protectors, as they were called, were expected to look after the cows in the pastures so that they did not go astray and to protect them from reptiles, wolves, dogs or other beasts of prey, or falling into pits, during the day time only. If the owner employed them to look after the cows at night, he had to pay him extra. The same system prevails even today. Cattle are entrusted, every morning, to a gopāla (herdsman) to look after at the time of grazing. The Gopālas are experts to recognise every cattle with or without any branded sign.

The village cattle are usually entrusted jointly to one or more herdsmen for grazing purposes. The grazier is paid separately for each animal entrusted to his care, a common rate being fixed with mutual consultation by the village elders. When a calf is born he gets extra. When a calf is born the teats of the cow are first milked about twenty times on to the ground in the name of the local god of the Ahirs. The remainder of the first day's milk is taken by the grazier, and for the next few days it is given to friends. The pasturage afforded by the village waste lands and forest is, as a rule, only sufficient for the plough-bullocks and more valuable milch-animals. The remainder are taken to government forest reserves, and here the herdsmen make stockades in the jungle and remain there with their animals for months together.

Only about thirty percent of the Ahirs, at the beginning of twentieth century, were occupied in breeding cattle and dealing in milk and butter. About four percent were domestic servants, and nearly all the remainder cultivators and labourers. These figures relate to Madhya Pradesh of today. There, in former times, the Ahirs had the exclusive right of milking the cow, so that on all occasions an Ahir must be hired for this purpose even by the lowest castes. Any one could, however, milk the buffalo and also make curds and other preparations from cow's milk. This rule is interesting as showing how the caste system was maintained and perpetuated by the custom of preserving to each caste a monopoly of its traditional occupation. The rule probably applied also to the bulk of the cultivation and the menial and the artisan castes and now that it has been entirely abrogated it would appear that the gradual decay and dissolution of the caste organisation must follow.⁹ No occupation or profession is the sole propriety of any caste or creed now.

In his sermon, called *Mahāgopālakasūtra*, in the *Anguttaranikāya* and *Majjhimanikāya*, Buddha furnishes a comparative account of the good qualities of a monk and a gopāla.¹⁰ The passage gives essential qualifications of a herdsman. It is specifically pointed out that a good herdsman possesses an eye for the form and cattle marks, removes ticks, dresses the wounds and smokes out lairs. In addition to these qualities the gopālas had the knowledge of watering places, roads, pastures and milking the cows. This is a true picture of pastoral

8. *Manusmṛiti*, ed. by Haughton, Vol. 1, p. 238.

9. Russell & Hiralal, II, 35-36.

10. *Majjhimanikāya*, German-Pali Society, Ii, p. 71; *Anguttaranikāya*, Pali Text Society, V. 347 ff.

people. Even today the three-fourth of India lives in villages and the people there have not come out of pastoral and agricultural stage. They have the same old indigenous way of living and economy. Those who are agriculturists breed cattle to supplement their income and to get milk and butter to eat. After boiling, the milk is put in a pot and a little old curd is added, when the whole becomes *dahi* or sour curds. This is a favourite food of Yādavas and is considered to have much medicinal value. This is a favourite food of Yādavas and is considered to have converted into Ghee, which may remain fit for use for as long as a year. It is a very rich diet and a staple food of Ahirs.

With the coming of agricultural stage, many of them took to farming. They occupied land and became its owners. They established kingdoms and became rulers, particularly in the Madhya (mid) Bhārata and the southern India. They were fond of expanding their kingdoms and war were indispensable. The Yādavas were invincible in wars. They were very good soldiers and commanders. Drona put Yādavas-army in front ranks at the time of Mahabharata-war. They possess strong stamina and are like *Yama* (lord of death) for the enemy in the battlefield. In Chinese-war with India, in 1962, mere 132 Yādava-Ahirs fought a heroic and successful battle at Chasul opposing 8,000 Chinese soldiers. Though 116 lost their lives in the battlefield, they did not let the enemy take the post. The brave Yādava were fighting with all odds. When they exhausted all ammunition, they faced the enemy with their rifles using as clubs, and when these were also broken, they fought with stones and later on physically grappled them. This is a singular instance of the bravery of the Yādavas. Many Yādavas have won the highest military honours in all important wars of this century—ranging from First World War to Indo-Pak War of 1971.

The first preference of Yādavas for an avocation is armed forces. But because of their hatred and opposition to all the alien rulers of this country, particularly the British regime, they have no regiment in their name like others. The demand for Yādava or Ahir Regiment has been a standing one for long by the All India Yādava Mahasabha in particular, and all Yādavas in general. If this long cherished genuine demand of the Yādavas is fulfilled by the Government of India then it shall prove their mettle and fight with more zeal and fervour as the name of their caste shall inspire more in the caste laden society and regiments in the name of other castes, such as Jar, Mahar, Gorkha, Kumaon Regiment, etc. Such requests have been turned down by the rulers after independence on the plea that it is not the policy of the Government to create new regiments in the name of any caste and religion.

A memorandum on behalf of the Yādavas and their organisations and Ahir Ex-servicemen was submitted to Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India re. "discrimination and injustice to Ahirs (Yādavas) in Indian Army—in view of proposed change in Ahir character of 13th and 11th battalion of the Kumaon regiment". The memorandum drew the attention of the Prime Minister that the Yādavas were the single largest community of the country and 'Ahirs have proved time and again that they are second to none in bravery and making sacrifices for the country'. For the last 100 years, we have been demanding for the 'formation of an Ahir Infantry Regiment in Indian Army'. The discrimination towards Yādava-Ahirs by the then British government because of staunch anti-British attitude of Yādavas in the pre-independence period could be understood, but it is beyond understanding

the continuous discrimination in free India. The memorandum brought to the notice of concerned that "late Gen. T.N. Raina, MVC, and former Chief of the Army Staff had assured Ahirs of the Kumaon Regiment in 1976 that in future raising of the Kumaon Regiment, the class composition would be on 50-50 basis between Ahirs and Kumaonis. So long as General Raina was at the helm of affairs, the promises were kept. The class composition of 18th, 19th and 20th Kumaon Battalions was 50-50 between Ahirs and Kumaonis. After completion of raising of these battalions between 1976-81, the strength of Ahirs in the Kumaon Regiment was five battalion strength and that of Kumaonis was $12\frac{1}{2}$ battalion strength including 14th Kumaon which was later renamed as Mechanised Battalion and was transferred to Mechanical Regiment. As a rule at least 25% Ahirs should have been included in this battalion. But great injustice was done to Ahirs for not giving them their due share in Mechanised Battalion. This was the beginning of discrimination towards Ahirs in the Kumaon Regiment.

"After the death of General T.N. Raina, MVC, the strength of Yādava-Ahirs was reduced to 25% from original 50% in the two newly raised 19th and 20th battalions of the Kumaon regiment. Thus the overall strength of Ahirs in the Kumaon Regiment, as a whole was reduced to $4\frac{1}{2}$ battalion from 5 battalions. This reduction in strength of Ahirs had adversely affected the chances of further promotion of educated and qualified serving Ahir jawans and JCOs, and also stopped their recruitment as Ahirs became surplus due to reduction of their strength.

"Then came the blow to the Ahir pride through the recent decision of changing the 35 years old glorious Ahir character of 13th battalion of the Kumaon Regiment. This order makes the class composition in whole of the Kumaon Regiment as 75% Kumaonis and 25% Ahirs. This does not include 15th Kumaon Battalion which was not having any Ahir troops, and also will have any Ahir. This shows prejudice as when all battalions will be having 25% Ahirs, why cannot 15th Kumaon Battalion will not have any. This decision has resulted into following disadvantages to the Ahirs :

"a. A overall strength of Ahirs in the Kumaon Regiment has further reduced to four battalions strength, i.e. 22% Ahirs and 78% Kumaonis.

b. Ahirs of India are sentimentally attached to 13th battalion (Kumaon Regiment) which made history by winning one Param Vir Chakra, one Ati Visishtha Seva Medal, 8 Vir Chakras, 1 Ashok Chakra, 6 Sena Medals and 4 Mention-in-dispatch, and was decorated with '*Battle Honour*' in Chinese aggression of 1962, and with '*Battle Theatre Honour*' in 1971 operation.

c. During 1962, China war, 114 Ahirs laid down their lives at Rezangla, fighting against heavy odds with *last man and last round*..."

General K.S. Thimmaya had on many occasions expressed himself in favour of a separate Ahir Regiment— '*Ahirwal Rifles*'.

In the last, it was submitted that if the class composition of 13th Kumaon and 11th Kumaon s changed, the history of valour and supreme sacrifice made by Ahirs will be ruined and will adversely affect the morale of serving and retired Ahir soldiers in particular, and Ahir community in general.

In view of the above, it was requested that 'the strength of Ahirs in the Kumaon Regiment must be raised to 50% and 'a separate Ahir Infantry Regiment be formed'.

But as usual the long cherished demand of a great martial community was not conceded to.

Earlier, in the British regime, the Yādavas got themselves enrolled in the British army. They were Russel's Infantry, Indian Coasts Artillery (Bombay and Karachi), Royal Artillery Fyzabad, etc. Major S.H.E. Nicholas, 95th Russel's Infantry, writes in the *Journal of the United Services Institute of India* (Vol. XL, No. 182) :

The Jadubans Ahir has no false pride. All the Jadubans Ahirs, whom I have talked to, claim descent from Rajputs, in fact from Krishna himself. Their tribal appellation certainly seems, to my mind, to imply a Rajput origin...

Like all inhabitants of Hindustan west of Jamuna he is freer from prejudices as regards his eating, drinking and cooking than the priest ridden inhabitants of the East, where in some places, the men are so fantastic in their ideas as to what constitutes pollution that they are a perfect nuisance if you happen to get any in a regiment by mistake. The Ahirs mess happily together and their feeding arrangements in a regiment present no difficulty whatever. He is not debarred from wine or strong drink, though he is most abstemious and chiefly a water or milk drinker.

Government determined on the formation of Ahir companies in 1898, and four companies were ordered to be raised, two in any regiment—the 95th Russel's Infantry, and two in the 98th Infantry. The following extracts are from the *Handbook on Jats, Gujars, and Ahirs*, compiled by Major A.H. Bingley .

The Gurgaon Ahirs make excellent soldiers and differ but little in appearance, physique, and customs, from their neighbours and rivals—the Jats (p. 14). The Ahirs of Gurgaon and of the adjacent districts differ but little, if at all from his Jat neighbour, and is equally brave, industrious and orderly. It has been truly said of Jats and Gurgaon Ahirs that they are manly, without false pride, independent without insolence, reserved in manner but good natured, light hearted, and industrious. There are no more loyal subjects of His Majesty in India, and none who are more attached to such of their rulers who mingle freely among them (p. 71).

As soldiers Jats are perhaps a little wanting in initiative.

The Ahir is, as a rule, rather better educated than his Jat and Gujar neighbours (p. 73).

After ten years experience of them, I emphatically endorse the opinion that Ahirs are eminently fitted for the profession of arms. However hard the day's march, however tiring the manoeuvres, they always keep their end up and do not give in.

The Ahir is a good trench-man and, if he has no appetite, thinks he must be desperately ill. If an Ahir falls out on the march, you may be sure, generally speaking, that he has been worked down to his last gasp and that he was probably a bit off colour when he started out. They are always cheerful, except when in hospital and are the sort of people who habitually make the best of things. If matters are not as they would choose, they rest assured that they are any how as good as can be under the circumstances, that their Sahib would have made them more comfortable if he could, and they do not waste a moment of time or a penny weight of energy in grumbling. They are reliable, steady, and of uniformly excellent character.

The educated ones are always keen to attend classes of instructions, and jump at opportunities of musketry, transport, physical training, or pioneer classes.

The Ahirs are the best scouts in my regiment and are keen on manly games. The educated ones are mostly good shots from the beginning but it often takes a long time to teach the jungly one to shoot well often a recruit's course and two annual courses.

In my opinion the enlistment of Ahirs has proved a great success, and Government would do a good stroke of business in raising more companies of them. There are only four Ahir companies in the whole of the Indian Army.

Excepting that it takes some of them rather a long time to learn to shoot, they give really good value for their pay. When you count the names of the martial races of India and think of the Gorkhas, Rajputs, Sikh, Brahman, Dogra, Jat, Pathan and Punjabi Muhammadan, do not forget the Jadubans Ahirs.

Similar views have been expressed by others with regard to their bravery and patriotism. The Ahirs of British armed forces joined the Indian National Army formed by Ras Behari Bose and latter led by Subhashchandra Bose. Those Ahirs, who are still alive, proudly narrate the valour, patriotism and achievement of their caste brethren in the Indian National Army. On the other side the Ahir soldiers also fought for the British Imperialism, as patriotism was only skin deep before India achieved independence. By their personel example and magnificent bravery, Havildar (later Hony. Capt.) Umrao Singh Yādav of Harayana "set a supreme example of gallantry and devotion to duty", and was awarded Victoria Cross in the Second World War on 15 December, 1944 fighting in Kaladan Valley, Burma.

Before 15 August, 1947, our armed forces were fighting for the British Imperialism, but after that when India became independent they were fighting for the protection of the motherland. Pakistan attacked Kashmir in 1947 with a view to occupy it with the help of intruders. Indian armed forces were sent to Kashmir to beat the Pakistan intruders in which India emerged victorious. The Yādavas serving in the Indian armed forces were second to none in showing their patriotism, gallantry, courage and presence of mind in the battlefield in which they got an opportunity to participate and display their traits. Naik Sardar Singh Yādava sacrificed his life in action at Kashmir front on 21 November, 1947. H was awarded Vir Chakra posthumously for 'great bravery and sacrifice'. Havildar Hira Lal Yādava was awarded Vir Chakra on 1 February, 1948 in Kashmir war for 'high presence of mind and exemplary courage and leadership during the operation'. Other Yādava brave soldiers who got Vir Chakra in 1948 were : Subedar Hoshiar Singh on 25 January, 1948 for 'displaying exceptional bravery', Sepoy Amilal Yādava on 1 February, 1948 for 'great courage and determination and killing the enemy soldiers'; Sub. Major Ishwar Singh Yādava on 15 March, 1948 for performing exemplary duty during the operation; Have. Dhani Ram Yādava on 20 April, 1948 for exemplary courage and leadership; Have. Angna Ram Yādava on 8 November, 1948, for 'exemplary courage'; and Sub. Hoshiar Singh Yādava on 25 January, 1948, for 'exceptional bravery'. Naik Umrao Singh Yādava was awarded Vir Chakra on 31 December, 1952 for 'courageous action'.

In Indo-China war of 1962, the Yādavas in the armed forces set an example in the history of India defending the motherland at Rezangla in Ladakh. Even the Chinese recognised the

bravery of defenders of Rezangla, where 13 Kumaon was posted. The heroes who got Vir Chakra in 1962 defending Rezangla were : Naik Hukam Chand (posthumous), Sub. Ram Kumar, L/NK Singh Ram (posthumous), Sub. Ram Chander and Naik Gulab Singh Yādava (all from Haryana). A good number of Yādavas from other parts of the country heroically sacrificed their lives in this historic battle.

During 1962, Indo-China war, 114 Yādava-Ahirs laid down their lives at Rezangla fighting against heavy odds with last man and last round. In memory of these heroes, 13th Kumaon had constructed a War Memorial at Rezangla (Chusul Air Field). The memorial was inaugurated by General T.N. Raina, who also installed a brass plate depicting the following words on the gate of the Memorial : “Kumaon Memorial in Memory of the Martyrs of the Kumaon Regiment (Ahirs) who fell on 18 November, 1962”.

It was about their performance that Lt. Gen. K. Bahadur Singh had to admit, “I am not aware of an equal in the annals of war”. General Bikram Singh, then operational Commander of Rezangla recorded the bravery of Ahirs of 13th Kumaon in the following words: “I can say that no other troops in the world could have shown more devotion to duty and loyalty to the country than this Battalion of 13th Kumaon”.

In 1965, Pakistan attacked India. Naik Ram Kumar Yādava, Sub. Nand Kishore Yādava and L/Have. Umrao Singh Yādava (posthumous) got Vir Chakra for ‘bravery, courage and supreme sacrifice’ in the Indo-Pak war, 1965. Brigadier Rai Singh Yādava was awarded Mahavir Chakra on 11 September, 1967 defending Nathu La against the Chinese intrusion and showing ‘conspicuous gallantry and leadership of high order,’ Commodore Babruh Bhan Yādava of the Indian Navy was another brave Yādava who was awarded Mahavir Chakra on 5 December, 1971 for ‘displaying conspicuous gallantry during the 1971 Indo-Pak war for sinking two enemy destroyer and one Mine Sweeper in an offensive sweep on the enemy coast off Karachi’. L/Seamen Chaman Singh Yādava of Indian Navy got Mahavir Chakra on 8 December, 1971 for showing ‘conspicuous gallantry and determination’. Other who got Vir Chakra in the 1971 war of Bangla Desh are : Major J.B.S. Yādava on 12 December, Sub. Major Nanji Ram Yādava on 12 September and N/Sub. Nand Ram Yādava on 19 December for ‘gallantry, determination of high order’.

Similarly the Yādavas also like to join and prove their mettle in the para-military forces, police forces and armed constabulary. They are deft, efficient, fearless and adventurous soldiers and able administrators. But on the whole they are politically handicapped. They have no good political leadership. Their leaders, except only some—Chandrajit Yādav, Mulayam Singh Yadav, Laloo Prasad Yadav, Ram Naresh Yādav, Ram Lakhan Singh Yādav, D.P. Yādav, etc.,—are meek, without political foresight and plagued with jealousy, disunity, rift, etc. Yādava require a strong political leadership for progress.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

rites and rituals

As narrated in earlier chapter, the Yādavas had been a republican and democratic society in belief, thought and action. They had never been the followers of any single philosophy or religion, though their main thrust had been on *Bhāgavata dharma* or philosophy. As many prominent Yādavas had either been the progenitors of particular religion or philosophy or they followed different sects. Yadu, the progenitor of this Yādava race, was himself a seer (ṛṣṭā) of Vedic *mantras*. Neminātha was a famous tīrthankara of the Jaina religion, Śrī Kṛṣṇa was not only who sang Bhagavat Gītā but also propagated the Śaivata or Bhāgavata religion, and many of the latter kings and emperors of this community patronised many sects and religions in addition to the Sanātana *dharma*. *Aja*, *Animat*, *Yajña*, *Achhaiya*, *Hayagrīva*, *Īśa*, *Sun* and *Viṣṇu* were their favourite deities,¹ *Animat*, believed to a deity to guard knees, *Yajña* to gurard thighs, *Achhaiya* was deity that never lapseth and protector of waist. Hayagrīva was regarded as the god of stomach, *Kesava* of heart, *Īśa* of abdomen and *Dhanurdhari* and *Urugaya* were believed to be the flower of conch-shell and walk near the ankles of the body. Besides these the other deities² were *Svetadvīpa*, *Govinda*, *Mādhava*, *Dākinis*, *Jālandhari*, *Mātris*, *Kuṣmāṇḍas*, *Yāksas*, *Rākṣas*, *Kotari*, *Revatī Jaiṣṭhā*, *Putanā*, *Vindhyakas*, etc. Those who accepted Buddhism and Jainism had their own deities of these religions. As India had been a land of beliefs and miracles, the Yādavas has been also believers of these.

The daughter of Nanda was sacrificed by Kāṁsa, the tyrant, in place of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, who became the *Vindhyavāsini devi*, or the goddess residing at Vindhyachal mountain in U.P. She is worshipped by all Hindus irrespective of caste and is supposed to answer the prayers of devout Hindus. Some Yādavas visit the temple of this deity at least once in their life time with or without their family in order to attain success in life or get rid of omissions and commissions of life. *Śītalā mātā* or goddess of small-pox is another deity worshipped by the Yādavas of north India. She resides in Gurgaon village. She is supposed to save or spare the infants and children from small-pox. Even educated people of all castes visit the small temple of *Śītalā* at Gurgaon village. The other goddesses are *Chāmuṇḍā*, *Kālī*, *Vaṣṇudevi*, etc. Five

1. *Bhag*, 42, 1-32.

2. *Ibid.*, Slokas 20-29.

naked virgins are also worshipped by the Yādavas. Gods, like Goga pīr, Bhāmiya, Bhairon, Hanumān, etc. are also their favourite deities in addition to *Kula devtas* (family deities) and *Grāma-devatas* (village deities, who are found in the form of shapeless pieces of stone or carved wood established under some tree at the entrance of the village. Almost every village has a small or big temple which may be *kaccha* or *pucca*. In north India some have accepted the tenets of Arya Samāja and do not believe in idol-worship, but their number is smaller in comparison to others.

Religious belief

The Yādavas follow almost all religions, but a majority of them are 'Hindus', only a minority of them have become Sikhs, Christians and Muslims, and they all have severed relations and connections from the Hindu Yādavas. They are Vaiṣṇavas, Śāktas, Śaivaites, Arya-Samājis, Kabīrpanthis and followers of a number of sects and missions. The Yādavas celebrate almost all festivals connected with the Hindu *dharma* and observe other Hindus in the country. *Janmāṣṭami* or the birthday of Śrī Kṛṣṇa is celebrated by all Yādavas and Hindus of the world. He is considered an incarnation of Viṣṇu and God (*Bhagwan*). A fast is observed during the day and meals are only taken after seeing the moon which rises at mid-night. Śrī Kṛṣṇa was born on the eighth day of the black part of the Bhādrapāda month. Devout Hindus even do not drink water on that day till the birth-time of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. They enchant songs in the praise of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, story of his birth, his illusory creation, etc. are sung, explained and depicted through tableaux in temples, homes and other public places. Śrī Kṛṣṇa is the only person in India whose birthday is observed through the length and breadth of the country and by one and all. The Yādavas observe all the religious festivals in honour of Kṛṣṇa. The festival of *Govardhana* is one such festival observed on the next day of *Dipavali* or the festival of lights. *Govardhana* may also the name of a small hill in Vṛndāvana which was 'raised' by Lord Kṛṣṇa to save the people and the cows of this place from the fury of 'Indra', the god of rain. Śrī Kṛṣṇa asked the inhabitants of Gokul not to worship Indra, but instead to worship Govardhana mountain which gave them grass for their cows, fuel, stones, herbs and many other things of daily use. When Indra came to know of this he became furious and ordered clouds to wash all the area in rain. Kṛṣṇa 'raised' the Govardhana hill on his little finger, made an umbrella of it and gave shelter to all people and cattle under it. It may be an allegorical description of an incident which might have taken place in the childhood of Lord Kṛṣṇa.

The doctrine of *Vyūhas*, Vāsudeva as the name of the supreme deity, and *śakti* or faith and love as the way to salvation are characteristic of the school called the *Pancarātra*. It does not trace all our finite thought and feeling to a principle alien to the soul such as *Prakṛti* or *Māyā* as the *Sāṃkhya* or *Advaita Vedānta* does, and look upon freedom from that sort of thought and feeling as *Mokṣa* or deliverance. It is a system of popular religion and has not such a metaphysical basis as either of those two has. Vāsudeva was recognised as the supreme deity even in the time of Patanjali, for under Pāṇini IV. 3.98, the author of the

Mahābhāṣya states that the Vāsudeva occurring in the *Sūtra* is not the name of a Kṣatriya, but of *Tatrabhagavat*, which term is explained by Kaiyaṣa as signifying a certain form of the supreme deity.

History of the Pancarātra System

The *Pancarātra* system is mentioned along with the rival system of the *Paśupatas*, and with the *Saṁkhya Yoga* and *Vedas* or *Āraṇyakas* in *Nārāyaṇya* section of the *Mokṣadharmaparvan* which forms a part of the Śāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata* (Ch. 349, Bom. Ed.), and explained in detail to Nārada in the Śvetadvīpa by the supreme Nārāyaṇa who manifested himself to him (Ch. 339). The whole *Nārāyaṇya* section seems to refer to that system one way or another.

Pancarātra same as the Sātvata System: In forming some idea of the origin of this system the following circumstances must be taken into account:

1. The characteristic name of the supreme deity is Vāsudeva, and Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu, and even Kṛṣṇa are only additional and probably later names or identifications.

2. In the *Nārāyaṇya* section of *Mahābhārata* the *Pancarātra* is represented as an independent religion professed by the Sātvatas and is also called the *Sātvata* religion (ch. 348, vv. 34, 55, and 84); and Vasu Upricara, who was a follower of that religion, is spoken of as worshipping the supreme god according to the Sātvata manner (*Vidhi*) which was revealed in the beginning by the Sun (Ch. 355, vv. 19 and 24).

3. The religion is stated to be the same as that taught to Arjuna by Bhagavat himself when the armies of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kurus were drawn up in the battle-array and Arjuna's heart misgave him (Ch. 348, v.8 and Ch. 346, v.11). In the *Bhāgavata* the Sātvatas are represented as calling the highest priest Brahma (n), Bhāgavat and Vāsudeva (X. 9.49), and as worshipping and adoring Kṛṣṇa in a peculiar way (XI. 21.1).

The Kṣatriya Origin of the Sātvata Religion and of the General Philosophical speculation

Sātvata was the name of a descendant of Yadu, and his race was the race or clan of the Sātvatas. The Sātvatas are mentioned in the *Bhāgavata* along with the Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis which were two of the Yādava tribes (I. 14. 25, and III. 1. 29). Vāsudeva himself was a prince of that race, being called *Sātvatar + ṛṣabha* (Bh. XI. 21.1) and *Sātvatapumgava* (Bh. 1.9.32). The worship of Vāsudeva ascends, as we have seen, higher into antiquity than Patanjali or even Pāṇini, since the name Vāsudeva is contained in the *Sūtra* itself. About the time when he flourished or when the upaniṣads were written, and even later, when Buddhism and Jainism arose, the energies of the Indian mind were directed to religious speculation, and we find a variety of systems coming into vogue.

In this intellectual race the Kṣatriyas took a much more part than the Brāhmaṇas. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, a prince of the name of Pravāhaṇa, the son of Jaibala (V.3), and

Āśvapati, king of Kekaya country (V.II), appear as teachers of religious truth and Brāhmaṇas as learners; and in the former passage it is even stated that the Kṣatriyas were the original possessors of that knowledge. Similarly, in the *Kauśītaki-brāhmaṇopaniṣad*, we find Ajātaśatru, a king of Kāśī, explaining the true Brahma (n) to Bālāki, the Gārgya, who had only pretended to teach it to the king, but did not know it really. The same story is told in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*. Buddha was a Kṣatriya and belonged to the Śākya clan; so was Mahāvira who belonged to the race of Jñātrkas.

Since then the Kṣatriyas were so active at the time in propounding religious doctrines and founding sects and schools, we may very well suppose that a Kṣatriya of the name of Vāsudeva belonging to the Yādava, Vṛṣṇi, or Sātvata race founded a theistic system... Vāsudeva is introduced as Bhāgavat in the *Bhagavadgītā* and some other parts of the *Mahābhārata*. That must have been one of his most prominent names, since his followers were in later times called *Bhāgavatas*.³

Kṛṣṇa, however, is not the solitary instance of the divine cowherd, but has several companions, humble indeed compared to him, but perhaps owing their apotheosis to the same reasons. Bhilat, a popular local godling of the Narmada Valley, was the son of an Ahir or Goali woman, she was childless and prayed to Pārvatī for a child, and the goddess caused her votary to have one by her own husband, the god Mahadeo. Bhilat was stolen away from his home by Mahadeo in the disguise of a beggar, and grew up to be a great hero and made many conquests; but finally he returned and lived with his herdsman parents, who were no doubt his real ones. He performed numerous miracles, and his devotees are still possessed by his spirit. Singāji is another godling who is Goali or Ahir by caste in Indore. He became a disciple of a holy Gokulastha Gosain or ascetic, and consequently a great observer of the Janmā-ṣṭhami or Kṛṣṇa's birthday.⁴ On one occasion Singāji was late for prayers on this day, and the *guru* was very angry, and said to him, 'Don't show your face to me again until you are dead'. Singāji went home and told the other children he was going to die. Then he went and buried himself alive. The occurrence was noised abroad and came to the ears of the *guru*, who was much distressed, and proceeded to offer his condolences to Singāji's family. But on the way he saw Singāji, who had been miraculously raised from the dead on account of his virtuous act of obedience, grazing his buffaloes as before. After asking for milk, which Singāji drew from a male buffalo calf, the *guru* was able to inform the bereaved parents of their son's joyful reappearance and his miraculous powers; of these Singāji gave further subsequent demonstration, and since his death, said to have occurred 400 years ago, is widely venerated. The Ahirs pray to him for the protection of their cattle from disease, and make thank-offerings of butter if these prayers are fulfilled. Other pilgrims to Singāji's shrine offer unripe mangoes and sugar and an annual fair is held at it, when it is said that for seven days no cows, flies and ants are to be seen in the place. In the Betul district there is a village godling called Dait, represented by a stone under a tree. He is the spirit of an Ahir who in his lifetime

3. Collected Works of R.G. Bhandarkar, Vol. II, pp. 189-193.

4. Vide Russell and Hiralal, pp. 29-30.

was credited in the locality with having the powers of an exorcist. In Mandla and other districts when any buffalo herdsman dies at a very advanced age the people make a platform for him within the village and call it *Mahasi deo* or the buffalo god. Similarly, when an old cattle herdsman dies they do the same, and call it *Balki deo* or the bullock god. Here we have a clear instance of the process of substituting the spirit of the herdsman for the cow or buffalo as an object of worship. The occupation of the Ahir also tends itself to religious imaginations. He stays in the forest or waste grass-land, frequently alone from morning till night, watching his herds or looking after his crops, and the credulous and uneducated minds of the more emotional may easily hear the voices of the spirits or in a half sleeping condition during the heat and stillness of the long day may think that visions have appeared to them. Thus they come to believe themselves selected for communication with the unseen deities or spirits, and on occasions of strong religious excitement work themselves into a frenzy and are held to be possessed by a spirit or god.⁵

Yādavas and the Jainism

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Jain religion : The kings of this dynasty were good patrons of this religion which is evident from inscriptions and a very good number of Jain literary works, which were completed during the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period. It has been suggested on the basis of a Śrāvaṇa Belgola inscription dated A.D. 1129 that Akalanka, the great Jain philosopher, was patronised by Dantidurga.⁶ The earliest Rāṣṭrakūṭa Jain inscription comes from Śrāvaṇa Belgola.⁷ It refers to the reign of Raṇāvaloka Kambayya, son of Dhruva and elder brother of Govinda III. This prince was the eldest son of Dhruva and was the governor of Gaṅgavādi under his illustrious father. Dhruva was apparently alive at the time, when this inscription was written. This inscription records a grant and proves Kambayya's (Stambha) affection for the Jain religion.

Govinda III was probably an admirer of the Jain religion. The Kaderbha plates⁸ dated Śaka 735 corresponding to A.D. 814 and found from Tumkur district of Karnataka refers to the reign of Prabhūtavaraṣa, who is no other than Govinda III. This inscription discloses the existence of a line of Jain monks of the Nandī Sangha of the Yāpanīyas. Recently another Jain inscription⁹ of the time of Govinda III from Dharwar district has been discovered.

The successor of Govinda III viz. Amoghavarṣa I, who ascended the throne in A.D. 814, was one of the greatest patrons of the Jain religion in the 9th century. A broken slab, found from Ranebennur in Dharwar district, is an important Jain inscription¹⁰ of Śaka 781 or A.D. 859. It refers to a Jain shrine constructed by one Nāgalura Pollabe and therefore it was known

5. Vide Russell and Hiralal, pp. 29-30.

6. *E.C.*, vol. III (Revised), No. 67.

7. *Ibid.*, No. 61.

8. *E.I.*, Vol. 4, pp. 332 ff; also *I.A.*, vol. 12, pp. 11ff.

9. See A.R. of *Indian Epigraphy*, 1958-59. B-582.

10. See *Karnataka Inscription* (1951), Vol. II, pp. 14-16.

as Nāgula Vasadi. A number of literary works very clearly prove that Amoghavarṣa I was a converted Jain. Guṇabhadra, the author of the *Uttarapurāṇa* and a contemporary of Amoghavarṣa I asserts that his preceptor Jinasena was a *guru* of that celebrated Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch.¹¹ Altekar refers to the fact that Jinasena in his *Pārśvabhyudaya* claims himself to be the chief preceptor (*paramaguru*) of Amoghavarṣa.¹² But this is impossible, because that poem was written before A.D. 783, as it is mentioned in Jinasena II's *Harivaṃśa* composed in Śaka 705. And Amoghavarṣa ascended the throne only in A.D. 814. However, another writer¹³ asserts that the *Pārśvabhyudaya* was composed in the court of Amoghavarṣa. That Amoghavarṣa was a believer in the doctrine of *Syādvada* is also repeated in the *Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha*¹⁴ of Mahāīrācārya, who was a contemporary of that monarch. Amoghavarṣa himself in his *Parśnottararatnamālā*¹⁵ pays homage to Vardhamāna, which was his genuine work.¹⁶ However, in spite of all this, he was not indifferent to Hindu deities. One of his inscriptions shows that he was a devotee of Mahālakṣmī.¹⁷

Śākaṭyāyana, a contemporary Jain grammarian, wrote a commentary on his own grammatical work and named it as *Amoghavṛtti*. This shows his respect for that Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch.¹⁸ Jinasena himself is full of praise for this great Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch.¹⁹ Similarly Ugraditya, the Jain author, and two Digambara Commentaries viz., Dhavalā and Jayadhavalā praised Amoghavarṣa.

Next ruler Kṛṣṇa II was also a patron of Jain religion, and probably of Guṇabhadra, the author of the *Uttarapurāṇa*.²⁰ Guṇabhadra himself claims that Kṛṣṇa II was his disciple.²¹ The next ruler Indra III also had some fascination for the Jain religion. An important inscription of Indra III, discovered from Belgaum district of Karnataka, states that a Jain saint called Neminātha, the preceptor of Maṇicandra, was like a moon in the ocean, which was the dynasty of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.²² Evidently this Jain monk was held in the highest esteem by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of his time.

The last representative of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty was the valiant Indra IV, who unsuccessfully tried to restore the tottering fortune of the empire with the help of his maternal uncle Ganga Marasimha. An inscription from Śrāvaṇa Belagola²³ dated A.D. 982 (Śaka 904), shows that he died like a true Jain.

11. See N. Premi, *Jain Sahitya Aur Itihasa*, p. 150 fn. 4, where the original verses from Guṇabhadra's praśasti have been reproduced.

12. See *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 311.

13. See Premi, *op. cit.*, pp. 134f.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 151 f, and fn 6 in p. 151.

15. Bhandarkar, R.G., *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 95.

16. See Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 11; see also *J.B.B. R.A.S.*, Vol. 22, pp. 80 ff.

17. See *E.I.*, Vol. 18, p. 248.

18. See Premi, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

20. See *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. 22, p. 85; see also Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

21. See *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. 22, p. 85.

22. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1928-29, p. 125.

23. *E.C.*, II, (Revised ed.), No. 133.

Jainism was in a flourishing condition in the southern districts of India from quite early times. One of the main reasons for this was the rule of the Yādavas in South India and their patronage of this religion. In the 7th century Yuan Chwang, noticed numerous *Digambaras* and their shrines in Cola, Dravida and Malakuta states.²⁴ He laments the absence of Buddhists and the ruined condition of *Viharas* particularly in countries of South India. Pallavas were not hostile to the Jains. They themselves were Hindus and had special affection for theistic Hindu deities. There is also reason to believe that Pallava Mahendravarman I himself was a Jain in his early life.²⁵ His father Śimhaviṣṇu was a famous patron of the Jains. Later on Mahendravarman became a Śaiva and a persecutor of the Jains.²⁶ But after him the rulers, officers and the people gave donations, constructed temples and patronised the Jain religion. We should refer to a Bāna epigraph²⁷ found from Vallimalai (North Arcot) which records the setting up of an image of Devasena, the pupil of Bhavanandin and the spiritual preceptor of the king Mahendra.

The Pāṇḍyas and the Jainism : The earliest Jain inscription²⁸ of this Yādava dynasty comes from Chitalar in the former Travancore state. The record in Tamil language and Vaṭṭeluttu characters, belongs to the 28th year of the reign of Varaguṇa I (c. 765-815 A.D.) *alias* Nedunjuḍayan. It records a gift of golden ornaments to the Bhaṭṭariyār of Tirucchāranattumalai, popularly known as the holy hill of the Cāraṇas. The Alvarmalai stone inscription²⁹ found from Palani Taluk of Madurai district registers a gift of 500 kāṇam of gold for the Jain temple-complex. The Pāṇḍyan king Rājasimha II is said to have endowed several Jain temples³⁰ which proves that he was a Jain patron.

The Kalacuris and the Jainism : Jainism was never popular in the Kalacuri kingdom. It is true that in the *Kathākoṣa*³¹ of Śrīcandra, one of his spiritual predecessors, viz. Śrutakīrti, has been described as having been honoured by Gāṇgeya, the great Kalacuri monarch, who ruled in the first few decades of the eleventh century. But no other Kalacuri king is known to have patronised this religion. Śaivism was the state religion³² in the Kalacuri kingdom. Only one Kalacuri Jain epigraph³³ has been found from Bahuriband in Jabalpur district which describes the erection of the Jain temple of Śāntinātha.

Jainism, however, was popular in another Yādava kingdom of South, where Hoysalas ruled. The first Jain epigraph³⁴ belongs to the reign of Ballāla (A.D. 1100-1108). It has been

24. See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 224, 226, 228.

25. Desai, P.B., *Jainism in South India and some Jaina Epigraphs*, Sholapur, 1957, p. 34.

26. See *I.A.*, Vol. 40, p. 215.

27. See *E.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 141 f.

28. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. I, p. 193 ff.

29. See *S.I.I.*, Vol. 14, No. 22.

30. Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

31. Chatterjee, Asim Kumar, *A Comprehensive History of Jainism* (1000 A.D. to 1600 A.D.), Vol. II, Calcutta, 1984, p. 60.

32. See Mirashi in *C. I.I.*, Vol. IV, Part I Intro.

33. *Ibid.*, No. 59.

34. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 44.

found from the Jain temple of Honur, two miles to the south-west of Kagal in Kolhapur district of Maharashtra. Ballāla and his brother Grandarāditya made some donations for the Jain *basadi*. There are several inscriptions which prove that Gandarāditya (A.D. 1108-1138) was a great patron of Jainism. Though this king was catholic in his religious outlook yet the later records of his kingdom prove that he was gradually being attracted to the *Digambara* religion.³⁵ The other feudatory families under him were also great patrons of the Jain *Sangha* and one of the prominent members called Nolamba, is described as having obtained a boon from the goddess Padmāvati, the Śāsanadevatā of Pārśvanātha. The descendants of this Nolamba became famous as the Nolamba-Yādava rulers. Perhaps the Lamba or Lāmbā-Yādavas of North India are the scions of this famous Nolamba, a great patron of Jainism. Kolhapur became a famous Jain-*ūrtha* in those days. The Yādava ruler built a famous temple there. Many other Jain temples, Jinālayas and *Basadis* were built by many other feudatories and donations were made by them.

So far as other parts of Northern India are concerned, Jainism was fighting a losing battle. Except Rajasthan and Gujarat, no other State of India offered favourable climate for the development of this religion in the medieval period. The reason for its decline and neglect in the North was that due to foreign attacks by the Muslims, Pathans or Mughal people did not like to practise or patronise a religion based on non-violence, when violence had become the order of the day. South was comparatively more peaceful where ruled the Yādavas.

An incessant struggle between Jainism and other sects was going on in South India. The Ablur epigraph³⁶ throws light on the relationship of the Jains with the Śaivas in the 12th century. According to this, it was the Śaiva saint Ekāntada Rāmayya, a contemporary of Kalacurya Bijjala (A.D. 1156-1168), who defeated the Jains in debate and obtained a *Jaya-patra* from Bijjala. It further informs us that the debate was first held at Ablur. We learn from the relevant lines, that he astonished the Jains by showing a miracle and then after destroying the local Jain temple, built there a temple of Śiva, local Vīra Somanātha. The Jains then complained to Bijjala, in whose court, it appears, Rāmayya once more defeated the Jains in debate, and demanded the destruction of eight hundred *Jaina* temples, including the famous Ānesejjayabasadi. The inscription, however does not specifically say, whether any more Jain temple was destroyed either by Rāmayya or Bijjala. But there are evidences to show that in the second half of the 12th century, the Hindus, particularly the Śaivas, were becoming increasingly hostile towards the Jains.³⁷ Desai³⁸ says that there are two more inscriptions, which prove that the Jains became the targets of attack in the 12th century. These inscriptions directly show that the good days of Jainism were practically over by the end of the 12th century. They had to pay a very heavy price for the blind anti-Brāhmaṇism, from the very beginning of their inception.

35. Chatterjee, A.K., *op. cit.*, p.107.

36. See, *E.I.*, Vol. V, pp. 237 ff.

37. Chatterjee, A.K., *op. cit.*, p. 107.

38. *Op. cit.*, pp. 148, 397ff.

It should, however, not be supposed that as a result of the activities of the Śaivas, Jainism ceased to exist in Kāmataka. There are epigraphic records which show that Jain temples continued to be repaired or built throughout century, during the reign of Yādava Simhaṇa and Yādava Rāmaçandra. Almost all Hoysala-Yādava kings were great patrons of Jainism. Many famous temples were erected during their reign and liberal gifts were made by these kings and their subjects to these Jain establishments. These were given lands free from all kinds of taxes, from the Hoysala-Yādavas. This also indirectly shows the soft attitude of the Hoysalas towards the Jain religion.

On the tenth lunar day of *Aśvin*, *Śākambhari devi* is worshipped with rag flags installed on the mountain where it resides. In Poona and Khandesh (Kanha desh—country of Kanha or Kṛṣṇa) they worship *Śiva*, *Bhavāni*, *Kālabhairava*, *Pārvatī*, and Kṛṣṇa. Among other deities they worship to Viṣahari, Ganapati, Gohila, Gosawan—the god of cattle disease, Bhainya, Ramadeva, Gūgāpīra, Kālumānjhī, and a host of other gods and ghosts. The Yādavas of Madhya Pradesh worship some caste deities like Kharkadeo located near Khirka or cattle pond represented on the platform in the form of a horse which wards off cattle diseases and saves the cattle wealth from snake biting and from the thieves. *Matradeva*, the god of enclosure of cattle pond, made in a jungle is also their caste deity. The Rawat Ahirs sacrifice goats to *Matradeva* within three days of Dīpāvali. Many Ahirs still sacrifice animals on some auspicious occasions which is a cruel practice and reminiscent of barbaric past. The Rawats worship *Gurayadeo*, who lives in the cattle-stalls in the village and is worshipped once a year. A man holds an egg in his hand, and walks round the stall pouring liquid over the egg all the way, so as to make a line round it. The egg is then buried beneath the shrine of the god, the rite being probably meant to ensure his aid for the protection of the cattle from disease in their stalls.

In case of cattle disease a line with ash is drawn around the village and all the entrances of the village closed for all cattle coming from outside the village. This is perhaps to protect the cattle from contamination of disease from other cattle. A favourite saint of the Ahirs of Madhya Pradesh is Bābā Haridās. He was a yogi, and could separate his soul from his body at pleasure. On one occasion he had gone in spirit to Benaras, leaving his body in the house of one of his disciples, who was an Ahir. When he did not return, and the people heard that a dead body was lying there, they came and insisted that it should be burnt. When he came back and found that his body was burnt, he entered into a man and spoke through him, telling the people what had happened. In atonement for their unfortunate mistake they promised to worship him.³⁹

A mound of earth or cow-dung is made and called Govardhan. After dancing round the mound they drive their cattle over it and make them trample it to pieces. In Central India, at this time a festival called Marhai is held, at which much liquor is drunk and all classes disport themselves. In Damoh on this day the Ahirs go to the standing place for village cattle, and after worshipping the god, frighten the cattle by waving leaves of the basil-plant at them, and

39. Vide Russell and Hiralal, pp. 31-32.

then put on fantastic dresses, decorating themselves with cowries, and go round the village, singing and dancing. Elsewhere at the time of Marhai they dance round a pole with peacock feathers tied to the top, and sometimes wear peacock feathers themselves, as well as aprons sewn all over with cowries. It is said that Kṛṣṇa and Balaram used to wear peacock feathers when they danced in the jungles of Mathura, but this rite has probably some connection with the worship of the peacock. According to Russell and Hiralal,⁴⁰ this bird might be venerated by the Ahirs as one of the prominent denizens of the jungle. In Raipur they tie a white cock to the top of the pole and dance round it. In Mandla, Khila Mutha, the god of the threshing floor, is worshipped at this time, with offerings of a fowl and a goat. They also perform the rite of *Jāgāna* or *waking* him up. They tie branches of a small shrub to a stick and pour milk over the stone which is his emblem, and sing, 'Wake up, Khila Mutha, this is the night of *Amāvas*'. They go to the cattle-shed then and wake up the cattle, crying, 'Poraiya, god of the door, watchman of the window, open the door, Nand Gwala is coming'. Then they drive out the cattle and chase them with the branches tied to their sticks as far as their grazing ground. The custom of frightening the cattle and making them run is called *dhor Jāgāna* or *bichhāna*, that is, to wake up or terrify the cattle. Its meaning is obscure, but it is said to preserve the cattle from disease during the year. In Raipur the women make an image of a parrot in clay at the Diwali and place it on a pole and go round to the different houses, singing and dancing round the pole, and receiving presents of rice and money. They praise the parrot as the bird who carries messages from a lover to his mistress, and as living on the mountains and among the green verdure, and sing:

"Oh, Parrot, where shall we sow *gondola* grass and where shall we sow rice? We will sow gondala in a pond and rice in the field. With what shall we cut *gondala* grass, and with what shall we cut rice?"

"We shall cut gondala with an axe and rice with a sickle."

It is probable that the parrot is revered as a spirit of the forest, and also perhaps because it is destructive to the corn. The parrot is not, so far as is known, associated with any god, but the Hindus do not kill it. In Bilaspur an ear of rice is put into the parrot's mouth, and it is said there that the object of the rite is to prevent the parrots from preying on the corn.

Diwali or the festival of lamps is an important festival celebrated by the Yādavas. After the arrival of one crop and showing of another one, this festival is harbinger of happiness and prosperity. Houses are given a face-lift, cattle are decorated with peacock feathers and cloth covers, delicious food is cooked, crackers are fired and sweets are shared on this festival. Ornaments, currency notes and other valuables are worshipped at night by the members of the family. Some people gamble at night which is considered very auspicious on the occasion. Some people keep awakening throughout the night.

Holi, the festival of crops, is another important festival of the Yādavas which is celebrated on the full moon of the *Phalgun* or March. Actually it begins one month prior to this day. A branch of tree is fixed on a place where the bon fire is to take place after one month.

40. *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Young and old keep pouring fuel in the form of wood, cow-dung preparations of artistic shape and figures etc., around the branch. On every evening after taking dinner, the village folk assembles at some common place and some of them sing folk songs, such as *Virhā*, *Dhamār* or *Dhamāl*, legendry songs, while others accompanying them *Śārangi*, *Harmonium*, *Kharatāl*, *Jhānja*, drum, *duff*, etc. They are all amateurs, generally local and belonging to all castes. Allegories, pun, vulgarity, jesting, caricaturing, monoacting, singing, etc., are enjoyed by one and all. It is the spring season and nature keeps all in a happy and enjoying mood. Jokes and colours are shared by one and all. On the full moon night, the heap is burnt. Ears of wheat and barley are baked on the flames. By this eating of new corns starts. Some make prophesies by looking at the direction of flames of *holi*.

Next day is a day of colours and gaiety. The folks enjoy it to their full. Mud, water, colours, everything is used on this occasion. People forget their age. Some go in a group from one house to another, sing, spray colour, throw water, and enjoy. Even women do not lag behind in this. In some areas they sing and dance in competition with the men. This competition, generally, is allowed in the same community members. In Brij (Mathura) young women hold clubs in their hands and strike the calf (of the leg) of the male-dancers who try to save themselves but cannot strike back. All concerned prepare themselves for this occasion.

In next month, *Chaitra*, the birth day of Śrī Rāma is celebrated, though not so enthusiastically as of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Some Yādavas go to the temple of Rāma and worship the idol of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sīta and others. *Śiva Rātri*, or the night of Śiva is celebrated on *Amāvasyā* (15th of the *Phalgunā*) by observing fast up to noon and pouring a glass of water on the idol of Lord Śiva fruits are eaten at noon. Food is taken in the evening. It is believed that Śiva is a deity who may be pleased very easily and who, when pleased, fulfils the desires of his devotees.

Transition of the sun from one constellation to another takes about one month. It is called the *Samkrānti*. There are twelve *Samkrāntis* according to the twelve signs of Zodiac, but only the *Samkrānti* of *Makara* or capricorns, which falls on 14th January every year is awaited anxiously and celebrated with enthusiasm. Everybody takes a dip either in a river, pond, tank or any other natural water resource, or where these are not available well water is used for bathing. Then hot food is taken generally with purified butter and cooked pulse. As the sun rise in the sky people of the village began to assemble outside the village at some open common place for *Kabbadi*, wrestling bouts, weight lifting and other competitions of such nature. The races of bulls and camels are also held in the countryside. But most of the old have their day on *Samkrānti*. They hide themselves and pretend to sleep covering their white body. Women folk 'search' him/her and 'awake' him by singing songs, and when he/she awakes he/she is presented with some woollen cloth, money and sweets. 'Sleeping' and 'awaking' is planned before hand. In this way old are respected and it may be called 'old-people's day' also.

Bath has a special place in Hindu *dharma*. Every Hindu has to take bath before every good ceremony or after a funeral, etc. Taking a dip in a river or lake on particular days or even otherwise is considered very auspicious and great desire of a devout Hindu. Many even

aspire to die at the bank of a river and to be cremated there. Almost all the rivers are held sacrosanct and are worshipped by the Hindus; Yādavas being no exception to it. They believe that bathing in the sacred rivers, lakes and 'Sarovars' will open the gates of heaven after death and will give wealth, luxury, sons and popularity in this life. The young women and virgins rise early in the morning in the month of *Kārtika* (October-November); and singing devotional songs go to bathing places, and where natural resources of water are not available they go to a well. They draw water and take bath. At the completion of the bathing for one month they give alms and donations to poor, brāhmaṇas and menials and gifts of suits to their sisters-in-law and mothers-in-law. It is considered very pious. Many of the pilgrimage centres are situated either on the banks of rivers or on the banks of lakes and sea. Many fairs and festivals are associated with taking a dip on these pilgrimage centres.

Religious Seats of Yādavas

The Yādavas had *peethams* (seats) granted to them by virtue of their religious powers. For instance there were fourteen *peethams* (seats)⁴¹ among the Yādavas of Warangal according to a *Sanad* granted in 1425 (*Śaka Samvat*), by Śrī Pratapa Rudra Maharaja of Warangal, to Śrī Kondiah Guru, as the head of the fourteen seats. Subsequently when Bhagyanagar was founded by Sultan Abdulla of Kutub Shahī in A.D. 1560 the rights of the Yādavas were acknowledged and recognised, and the name Golkonda was substituted for Manugal.

According to the charter awarded by the Sultan Abdulla of Kutub Shahī in 1071 Hijri Kondiah built the fort for the Sultan by using his charisma in resolving the mystery of the site, and also discovered for him gold coins buried underground. In return, the Sultan gave him the charter conferring upon Kondiah the rights and privileges due to the head of the fourteen seats, and of twelve classes of Gottas and two classes of shepherds (Kuruba Gottas). Kondiah, although a follower of Basaveswara (Lingayat), was the head of the Yādava *peethams*. Perhaps the Gottas at this time were under the influence of Veerasaivism.

The hereditary right of opening the doors of temple of Lord Venkatesvara at Tirūpati Tirumal are with the Yādavas. Many other Yādava saints are Mahants also in *Maths* (convents), such as, Mahant Chand Nath of Asthal Bohar in Haryana. Swami Kshetra Nath is a *Yogi* with miraculous powers, and besides he is a great social reformer and established many schools in Yādava villages, one Yādava hostel in Alwar in Rajasthan, one Engineering College in Narnaul (Haryana) and laid the foundation stone of one Yādava hostel in Jaipur (Rajasthan). He has got many magnificent temples in Ahirwal. He is worshipped by one and all. Swami Sarvanand Ji Maharaja is a famous (Yādava) saint of Arya Samaj, who has the last word in the Arya Samaj world. He has caused to establish *Gurukuls*, schools and colleges

41. The *Peethams* are: 1. Śringerī, 2. Pushpagiri, 3. Virūpāksha, 4. Kannakamma, 5. Madhavachari, 6. Vivodi, 7. Kanuparthi, 8. Veerabhajan, 9 Ramanju, 10. Ayyalam, 11. Yeeramalliga Rao, 12.,13 ?, 14. Hastinapur.

in Panjab, Himachal, Jammu & Kashmir and Haryana. His headquarters are at Dinanagar (Panjab).

Yādavas And Arya Samaj

The Arya Samaj was founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati on 10 April, 1875 at Bombay. Swami Dayanand was against idol worship and the monopoly of the Brāhmaṇas in the study of the *Vedas* and in performing Vedic rituals. The Arya Samaj movement became popular among the Yādavas of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar in 1910s and 1920s. One of the first account of their participation is given in *Abhir Kuladipika* (Man Singh). In 1895, Rao Yudhishtira Singh of the Rewari Royal family invited Swami Dayanand to visit Rewari, and at latter's instance a *goshala* and an Association for the Protection of cows was founded. The Arya Samaj became popular among the Yādava villages in Haryana and Delhi before the end of the 19th century.

Adoption of Arya Samaj beliefs and rituals meant several changes in the life-style of the Yādavas. A notable feature among the Yādavas of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, was the adoption of the sacred thread, which in turn resulted in violent riots by the Rajputs and Bhumihars in U.P. and Bihar. While the Rajputs opposed the Yādavas by imposing collective fines, the Bhumihars in Bihar invaded the public functions of Yādavas with staves and rifles. They also filed false criminal and civil cases against the Yādavas in law courts, with a view to harassing them. The Yādavas also paid in the same coin, and as they were physically superior to Brāhmaṇas, Rajputs and Bhumihars they did not yield.

A noted spiritual leader who spread the belief of the Arya Samaj among the Yādavas was Swami Krishnanand Ji, a Yādava himself, who toured Panjab, U.P. and Bihar, propagated the adoption of the sacred thread, *Vedic* rituals and encouraged the opening of educational institutions. He was also responsible for popularizing the term Yādava throughout northern India, and for promoting Yādava ethnic identity by submerging internal differences among diverse sub-castes.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE FAMILY LIFE

Although the family began in its earliest origins as a reproductive or biological association, it has developed into a primary social unit of the highest importance for man. "Of all the organisations, large or small, which the society unfolds", observe MacIvar and Page,¹ "none transcends the family in the intensity of its sociological significance. It influences the whole society in innumerable ways and its changes ... reverberate through the whole social structure. It is capable of endless variation and yet reveals a remarkable continuity and persistence through change". As a social institution, it has emerged in order to satisfy certain very basic biological, psychological and social needs of man. And, even though it has gone through many changes during the past centuries and several of its original functions like the educational, the economic, the religious, and the recreational have been gradually taken away by other social and state agencies, yet its basic functions which centre around the primary bio-psycho-social needs of man have not been affected. These primary functions are (1) the more stable satisfaction of the sex need of the man and the woman, (2) procreation, care and nurture of the young, and (3) the sharing of a home and all that this involves.² Nature of the children takes place within the focus of the home. Man is not born human, nor he is born social, but he becomes so both through association and communication and the family is the first and foremost agency in his "cultural conditioning" in this direction, by providing for him, "his earliest behaviour patterns and standards of conduct".³

The family, as a social unit, has already assimilated through years and ages, the traditions, the sentiments and the modes of behaviour of the society. It therefore plays the part of a suitable medium to convey these to its individual members. Thus in the family, 'the biological, psychological and sociological forces meet in giving the individual his start in life'. The family plays an importing role in the personality formation of the individual. Yādvavas had always been a patriarchal society living in joint families. The family consisted of the father or grandfather as the head of the family, and grandmother, mother, aunts, uncles, brothers, sisters, cousins, nephews, nieces and grandsons. Joint family was not only a

1. MacIvar, M.R. & Page, C., *Society*, p. 240.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 254; 263-4.

3. Burgess and Locke, *The Family*, New York, 1953, pp. 212-13.

product of tradition but a compulsion due to occupation of the Yādavas, as agriculture or cattle rearing was not feasible for single families and could be carried out jointly and with the help of all the members of the society. The division and allotment of work was done by the head of the family on the basis of capacity and qualities of the members of the family. Here all worked according to their capacity and took according to their needs.

If the father looked after all domestic matters relating to internal and external relations, borrowing and spending, deciding policy matters, making budget, deciding marital relations and distribution of duties and supervision of all, the mother was the incharge of the matters relating internal affairs of the family. She distributed the work among the ladies of the house, supervised, made suggestions and amendments, looked after the weak, sick and children of the family and controlled the kitchen, preparation of food and catering to all taking into consideration the needs of all. She was not supposed to interfere in external matters of household concerning men, and if anyone did so, it was not taken into good taste. Only widows, whose sons were minors, could deal with men in matters relating to home affairs. But it is not uncommon to consult the women of the house behind the curtain in matters pertaining to home affairs.

A review of the Yādava family in relation to its members and *vice versa*, and the interpersonal relations of the members among themselves is essential. In joint families all the members live together in the same abode. The family circle is not the narrow one consisting of parents and children only, very often it used to be as wide as could be, there being presumably no limit on its size. But, it seems that normally the joint family included three generations; for, the life span of three generations is around a hundred years, 'Son' is an important person in the family. He rescues the souls of deceased ancestors from the hell into which they might fall without his birth. 'Because the son protects his ancestors from the hell called *Put*, he has been called *Putra*'.⁴ 'A man conquers the world by the birth of a son; he enjoys eternity by that of a grandson; and, the great grandfathers enjoy eternal happiness by the birth of grandson's son'.⁵ The child looked upon as a great bond of affection in the family. For a Yādava 'what is a greater happiness to a father than what the father feels when his son, running to him, clasps him with his (tiny little) arms though his body is full of dust and dirt. A family full of sons, grandsons and great grandsons is most liked and admired by the Yādavas.

The position of the eldest son, however, is peculiar in the family. He has the authority to offer the funeral cake (*piṇḍa*) at the *Śrāddha* ceremony, i.e., the religious observances on the death anniversary of the father and the ancestors. On the birth of the first (*Jyeṣṭha*) son, the father is freed from his debt to the manes.⁶ Manu says that the eldest son on whom the father passes his debt (*mām*) and through whom he obtains immortality is alone begotten for

4. *Manu* IX, 138; *Mahā*, Ādi. 74, 27.

5. *Mahā*, Ādi. 74, 38.

6. *Manu*, IX, 106.

the fulfilment of *dharma*; all the rest are considered as the offspring of desire (*kāmajāh*).⁷ The eldest son can make the family prosperous or bring it ruin; he is worthy of honour, and is not to be treated with disrespect by those who want to follow *dharma*.⁸ Thus in the Yādava family, the eldest son is a particularly favoured person as compared to the other relatives. He is addressed as 'brother' (*Bhāi*, *Bhāyā*) even by the parents, and not addressed by name, as a token of regard.

Social Customs

Writing about 74 years back, Russell and Hiralal⁹ described the social status and social customs of the Yādava-Ahirs like this; The Ahirs will eat the flesh of goats and chickens, and most of them consume liquor freely. The Kaonra Ahirs of Mandla eat pork, and the Rāwats of Chhattisgarh are said not to object to field-mice and rats, even when caught in the houses. The Kaonra Ahirs are also said not to consider a woman impure during the period of menstruation. Nevertheless the Ahirs enjoy good social status, owing to their relations with the sacred cow. As remarked by Eha: "His family having been connected for many generations with the sacred animal he enjoys a certain consciousness of moral respectability, like a man whose uncles are deans or canons". All castes will take water from the hands of an Ahir, and in Chhattisgarh and the Uriya country the Rāwats and Gahrās, as the Ahir caste is known respectively in these localities, are the only caste from whom Brāhmaṇas and all other Hindus will take water. On this account, and because of their comparative purity, they are largely employed as personal servants. In Chhattisgarh the ordinary Rāwat will clean the cooking-vessels even of Muhammadans, but the Thethwār or pure Rāwats refuse this menial work. In Mandla, when a man is brought back into caste after a serious offence, such as getting vermin in wound, he is made to stand in the middle of a stream, while some elderly relative pours water over him. He then addresses the members of the caste *Panchayat* or committee, who are standing on the bank, saying to them, 'Will you leave me in mud or will you take me out?' Then they tell him to come out, and he has to give feast. At this a member of the Meliha sept first eats food and puts some into the offender's mouth, thus taking the latter's sin upon himself. The offender then addresses the *Panchayat* saying 'Rājās of the Panchayat, eat'. Then the *Panchayat* and all the castes take food with him and he is readmitted. In Nandgaon state the head of the caste *Panchayat* is known as Thethwar, the title of the highest subcaste, and is appointed by the Rājā, to whom he makes a present. In Jashpur among the Mahakul Ahirs, when an offender is put out of caste he has on readmission to make an offering of Rs. 1.4 to Balāji, the tutelary deity of the State. These Mahakuls desired to be considered superior to ordinary Ahirs, and their social rules are hence very strict. A man is

7. *Manu*. IX, 107.

8. *Ibid.* 109.

9. *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* (1916), pp. 34-35.

put out of caste if a dog, fowl or pig touches his water or cooking pots, or if he touches a fowl. In the latter case he is obliged to make an offering of a fowl to the local god, and eight days are allowed for procuring it. A man is also put out of caste for beating his father. In Mandla, Ahirs commonly have the title of Patel or headman of a village, probably because in former times, when the country consisted almost entirely of forest and grassland, they were accustomed to hold large areas on contract for grazing."

Generally the ordinary Yādavas, like all other common masses had been economically exploited and poor. Poor have no social status or respect. Land, wealth or high office in the government has always been the determinant of social position. Yādavas possessing lands considered land-less Yādavas inferior to themselves. The Āphariyās of Rewari consider other Ahirs inferior because the former had been the rulers of Rewari State. Jadams of Narnaul area, Kaninawals of Kanina (Mahendergarh Santorias of Behror, Ṭonḍaks of Kapashera in Delhi, Jadams of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, etc., are the glaring examples of this type of intra-caste superiority. It simply shows that any clan of Yādavas who had either been rulers in the near-past or possessed more land than others considered themselves superior. It was a matter of haves and have-nots.

There is lot of difference in the pre and post-independence situation. Independence has brought a sea-change to the people of India. Untouchability is an offence, whosoever practises is considered most backward. Though not fully eradicated, yet it is on wane in all parts of the country and among all castes. If socialism comes this disparity shall also perish. The All India Yādava Mahāsabhā is doing a Yeoman's service in the social and educational field by organising the Yādavas throughout the length and breadth of the country. Almost all the branches of Yādavas are now grouping under one common name—Yādava. Earlier they were divided in a number of divisions and had no connection or relation with the other branch. Now they are coming closer. Even Bhattis, Jadaons, etc., who proudly called themselves Rajputs and did not have marital relations with other Yādavas are trying to return to the mainstream. Education, political and social consciousness, government jobs and money earned by the Yādavas have broaden their vision and now they are anxious to know more and more about their caste brothers, their place of habitation, social status and custom, history and culture. A large number of Yādavas participate in the functions of the All India Yādava Mahāsabhā. The Mahāsabhā was founded in 1924 and it has played a very significant role not only in the upliftment of the Yādavas but also contributed in the freedom movement of the country. The Mahāsabhā fought an unrelent battle to get freedom. It always supported the All India Congress, its programme and leaders. Many of Mahāsabhā's members had been veteran freedom fighters. They spent best part of their life in British jails.

The Yādavas eat, drink, smoke and sit in line for dining with the Jats, Rajputs, Gujars, Rors, Sainis, Vaiśyas and a number of other agricultural castes including Brāhmins. Socially even no caste explicitly claims, particularly in community lunches, etc., to be superior or to refuse to dine with each other. Only in the backward areas some sort of caste distinction is made where untouchability is still in vogue but not so strong as it used to be before independence. Freedom from foreign rule has acted as catalytic agent in deletion of the casteism in social context. Now there are no feuds, demonstrations or conflict for the right

to put on sacred thread (*Janeu*) by any caste. Now nobody bothers whether anyone puts it or not. Earlier, even Yādavas were not considered fit to put on the sacred thread in some parts of the country and to assert their this right regular sessions were held publicly, whereas Brāhmaṇas and Rajputs physically assaulted the Yādavas or any other person putting on the sacred thread. But today it had become obsolete to put on the sacred thread even by Brāhmaṇas. While taking edibles or food in a hotel or snacks in a tea shop nobody asks one's caste as was a practice before independence. As the Yādavas are educationally and economically backward they are also socially backward. These are interrelated factors. For instance, in Haryana and some parts of Rajasthan where Yādavas are the owners of agricultural lands, and were prosperous, Brāhmaṇas were treated inferior but wherever the Brāhmaṇas were agriculturists and possessed agricultural land, they were treated equal. So it was economic status which determined the social status or consciousness in the society.

Birthday Ceremony

Birthday ceremony, as picturised in the *Bhāgavata*, gives an idea of the royal customs of the Ābhīra kings in their glories. It was considered as a day of rejoining and the panegyrists, the singers and the royal bards used to pronounce benedictory verses on the occasion. Kettle drums and tabors were sounded. The capital city was decorated and the houses cleansed and sprinkled with water and adorned with variegated pennants and flags and pieces of silk railments and artificial garments. Oxen and calves were decked with precious ornaments, peacock feathers, garlands, garments and golden strings. The cowherds wearing valuable garments and ornaments visited the king's palace with presents. Beautiful cowherdresses decorated themselves with collyrium visited the king's palace, putting on bright diamond, pendants and the tresses fully decked with chaplets.¹⁰ Even today, when there are no kings, the birth of a male child in family is an occasion of great rejoice. The birth of a male child is pronounced by beating a bronze plate, whereas a broken earthen pot is thrown on the heap of garbage on the birth of a female child. Even the birth of fifth or sixth male member is rejoiced, whereas the birth of even the first female child is supposed to be calamitous. Sixth night is a night of awakening on which singing and dancing goes on till morning. After a fortnight or a month the ceremony of well-worship (*Kuan-Pujan*) is performed. The woman who has delivered the child puts on her head a small earthen pot, filled with water-decorated with green leaves of mango tree, a *Kacca* thread tied around the neck of the pot, and a jug on the pot. She supported by another woman whose husband is alive or by the wife of the barber, goes to the well being accompanied by women singing songs specially meant for this occasion. Perhaps the well is the source of fertility and worshipped for this. This is a most cherished desire of every woman in life to worship well which is only possible on the birth of a male child. Though educated and advance Yādava families now

10. *Bhag.*, X, V, Śloka 7-12.

like to go to maternity hospitals for child delivery, yet they perform the well-worship ceremony after returning to home. Till the well-worship all the members of family of the child are considered impure. Delicious food is served to a number of persons, gifts are given to close relatives and menials and the occasion is rejoiced with great pomp and show according to the budget of the household. Since advance families arrange a *Yajña* on this occasion and invite a *purohit*, who may or may not be a *brāhmaṇa*, to name the child. Astrological consultations are also made for this purpose. The newly born baby is smeared with turmeric powder and oil, and washed with water. Curd mixed with honey is put on the tongue of the child. Devotional and other songs befitting the occasion are also sung by the women.

The Yādavas also believe in exorcism. Children are exorcised to avert the impending danger by waving cow's tail on their head. Immediately after this, cow's urine is sprinkled on the body of the child, and they are bathed, after this his head is bowed in the hoofs of the cow. Cow, not only being sacred for all Hindus, is most important for the Yādava-Ahirs from the hoary past.

In Karnataka Yādavas are called Gollas (Gwālās). The Gollas of old Mysore region have no social intercourse with their brethren of adjoining areas. Even about half a century after independence, the Gollas of integrated areas are seen moving in groups to eke out their livelihood. They pitch their temporary tents on the outskirts of villages or towns. They have their own sub-castes. Hondi Gollas are those who rear pigs, Haver Gollas are snake charmers, Kṛṣṇa Gollas in the district of Dharwar are priests in the temples of Kṛṣṇa and Hanuman. Their family members serve as labourers in the fields owned by the village landlords. They do not have their own spiritual head.

The Kadu Gollas whose caste denotes that they were the inhabitants of the jungle are included in the list of Scheduled Tribes. There is a very bad custom prevalent among them. An expectant mother of this tribe is segregated as soon as she gets labour pains. She is kept in a darkshed away from her hut for a fortnight or so and food is lowered to her through the small window of the shed. Many mothers and children die during this period.¹¹ The All India Yādava Mahā Sabhā, in its fifty-second annual session held at Bangalore on 13-15 May, 1989, passed a resolution against this bad custom and exhorted the Kadu Gollas against this evil and to leave it. It requires further research whether they are Yādavas.

Death Ceremony—Funeral Rites

As the Yādavas follow the Hindu traditions, they burn their dead.¹² The death of old and infirm are celebrated with festivities, whereas the death of young and infants cause much distress and sorrow. Deadbodies are taken in a procession, four persons taking the pyre of

11. *Souvenir 1989*, Karnataka Yādava Sangha, Bangalore, p. 57.

12. The Gollas (Yādavas) of Belgaum and Dharwar bury their dead. Enthoven, *op.cit.*, p. 12.

the deceased on their shoulders. 'Only God is truth' being enchanted by the mourners who follow up to *Śmaśāna* (cremation place). Leaves of green grass, milk, holy water of the Ganga river, rice, a rupee or gold, etc., are put in the mouth of the dead before the deadbody is taken to the cremation ground. Pyre is prepared with wood, cow-dung and fuel, the corpse is put on it. Kerosene or purified butter is also poured with sandal wood and other purifying elements which lessen the foul smell produced by burning the corpse. When the dead is burnt, its skull is smashed with a bamboo stick by piercing its sharpened edge into the skull after which all return to a place of water, i.e., river, pond, well, etc. They take a bath and clean their clothes which they had put on, and then return home.

No one takes food till the deadbody is burnt. In rural areas dead are not burnt at night, and if someone dies in the evening or at night the deadbody is put on the ground smeared with cow-dung mixed in mud. Ganga-Jal is sprinkled over the ground. Elders keep a watch of the dead and keep awakened. It is believed that if the dead is left alone, it may become a ghost and may stand up and would become so powerful that nobody can control it. But this is only a misbelief. Elders awake and sit near dead only signify respect shown to the dead.

In Hindu *dharma* funeral rite is one of the most important of sixteen *saṃskāras* (rituals) performed in the life time of a person. Mourning period remains for twelve or thirteen days including the death-day of the deceased during which relatives and friends come to the house of the deceased to console the bereaved family. *Pinḍ-dāna*, giving alms to beggars and Brāhmaṇas, feeding the crows, sparrows and cow, etc., is done during this period. If the deceased was a young one, Brāhmaṇas and some other members of the community are served food on the thirteenth day, after which the house and its members become pure. If the dead was an old one, a lavish feast on a big scale is served which may result into bankruptcy of the family. This bad practice is common among these backward Yādavas.

In Madhya Pradesh, when a man is dying they put basil leaves and boiled rice and milk in his mouth, and a little piece of gold, or if they have not got gold they put a rupee in his mouth and take it out again. For ten days after a death, food in a leaf-cup and a lamp are set out in the house-yard every evening, and every morning water and a tooth-stick. On the tenth day they are taken away and consigned to a river. In Chhattisgarh on the third day after death the soul is brought back. The women put a lamp on a red earthen pot and go to a tank or stream at night. The fish are attracted towards the light, and one of them is caught and put in the pot, which is then filled with water. It is brought home and set beside a small heap of flour, and the elders sit round it. The son of the deceased or other near relative anoints himself with turmeric and picks a stone. This is washed with the water from the pot, and placed on the floor, and a sacrifice of a cock or hen is made to it according as the deceased was a man or woman. The stone is then enshrined in the house as a family god, and the sacrifice of a fowl is repeated annually. It is supposed apparent by that the dead man's spirit is brought back to the house in the fish, and then transferred to the stone by washing this with the water.¹³

13. Russell and Hiralal, pp. 28-29.

Last Rites

Last rites are also expensive and time consuming. 'Flowers' or bones after burning are gathered on the third or fourth day of the cremation, washed in water and in holy *Ganga-Jal* and are taken to sea, lakes, ponds or rivers for immersion. At many places, genealogical record is maintained by the *Paṇḍās* and it is upto date whenever any person comes with the 'ashes' of the deceased. These *Paṇḍās* fleece their *Yajamans* in the name of so many rituals and they mislead and befool the people in the name of heaven, hell, religion, etc. They feed on these rituals. The only good aspect of all this is that some people get a chance to visit some parts of the country and gain some knowledge of it, a sense of feeling 'one' is created and a genealogical record is maintained by these *Paṇḍās*. It also leads to cultural fusion in the country. Alms and donations are given to poor, beggars, *Paṇḍās* and *Brāhmaṇas* who all thrive on beggary and thus these parasites are fed by the ignorant masses.

Marriage Ceremony

'Marriages are settled before birth' is an axiom for the Yādavas. Arranged marriages, earlier by the *Brāhmaṇa* and barber and now by parents, are still preferred. Love marriages or inter caste or inter-religion marriages are only an exception among the Yādavas. The customs of north Indian Yādavas are different from the Yādavas of other parts of India. In North India, no one can marry in his village, vicinity of the village (if the boundaries of the two villages touch each other); in his own, mother's and grandmother's sub-caste (*gotra*) or in the in-laws of the sister, father's or grandfather's sisters, etc. Invariably exchange is not allowed. In south India, Yādavas do not follow these customs of marriage as are in the north. There they can marry their sister's daughter or any woman in the near relation, though not their first cousins. Yādavas are monogamists, having more than one wife is only an exception. When the elder brother dies leaving a young widow, and no younger brother is bachelor, then only a married brother can take that widow as his second wife, or when the living wife is barren, then only in very exceptional cases one may have two wives.

Second marriage of a person was permitted among the Yādavas in case of infidelity on the part of wife, and for this, permission of the elders was necessary. The woman thus divorced from her husband was entitled to marry again. Adultery, however, was looked upon as a great offence. If a woman committed adultery with a man of higher caste and rank, at times the matter was hushed up; an intrigue with a low caste man was punished with immediate expulsion from the caste. Generally the husband or his brothers would kill instantaneously such a woman as this was considered a slur. The Yādavas have been polygamous but polyandrous also in some districts of U.P. along the bank of Yamuna. In some Ahirs of Maharashtra formerly an unchaste woman was punished very severely. Such a woman was tied with a tree and the man was also made to be dressed like a woman before the tribal council.¹⁴ In the changed circumstances such cases are decided by the courts of law.

14. Gunthorpe, *op.cit.*, p. 47; Enthoven, R.E., *The Tribes and castes of Bombay*, Bombay, 1922, Vol. I, p.10, Russell and Hiralal, *op.cit.*, III, p. 37.

[illegible]

16. Hutton, J.H., *Caste in India*, Oxford, 1961, p. 61.

While all Hindu castes forbid marriage between ortho-cousins on the male side, i.e., between the children of two brothers, and while the great majority at any rate forbid it between ortho-cousins on the female side also, between the children, that is, of two sisters, cross-cousin marriage—marriage, that is between a man and his mother's brother's or father's sister's daughter—is widespread and common, particularly in South India, marriage with the mother's brother's daughter being especially favoured. Ahirs of Madhya Pradesh, who practise this form of marriage, speak of the marriage of a daughter to her mother's brother's son as 'giving back the milk' (*dūdh lauṭānā*), the idea being that the taking of a woman from her family is repaid by returning another in the next generation, which may imply a quasi-economic origin for the custom. Another way of marriage is exchange (*Āttā-Śāttā*), i.e., a person taking wife will give his sister to the wife's brother, or three persons and three women marrying—a marrying b's sister, b marrying c's sister and c marrying a's sister. The latter practice is preferred to the former. Both the practices are among the poor.

Generally boys and girls are betrothed at an early age like other backward communities, but now educated Yādavas are leaving this bad practice. The latter like to be engaged and married after completion of their education. Various views have been held as to the origin of the custom of Child marriage. According to Hutton,¹⁷ 'it is very ancient, and the suggestion that attributes to the Muslim invasions is not even momentarily entertainable. Megasthenes presumably refers to the practice when he records that the girls of the Pandainan (Pāṇḍya) kingdom bear children at the age of seven, adding that they are old at 40.¹⁸ Risley regards the custom as due primarily to hypergamy which, by limiting the choice of bridegrooms, impels parents to marry off their girls at the earliest age possible Gait regards infant marriage as the result of the impact of 'Aryan' and 'Dravidian' and a device to guard against pre-marital communism, and this again has possibly been a contributing factor. J. Campbell's opinion was that early marriage was due to a belief in the danger of dying with unfulfilled wishes combined with the great wish a Hindu to marry and have children ... The wish to marry and have children is the cause of the fear of dying unmarried...'

All the Ahir girls were used to be married before or just after puberty, while the Golkars of Chanda, insisted upon infant marriages, and fined the parents if an unmarried girl attain puberty. The Kanora Ahirs of Mandla did not marry their girls till they showed the sign of puberty.¹⁹ In the Ahirs of Chhotanagpur both adult and infant marriages are recognised, the latter being regarded as a counsel of perfection for the well-to-do persons. If a Yādava girl in Orissa remains unmarried in her father's house, after attaining puberty, the breach of ceremonial requirement may be got over by giving her away to an oldman or invalid man. After such marriage the girl is divorced by her 'husband' and remarried like a widow.²⁰ Among the Yādavas of Bengal and Orissa, the orthodox view of Hindu marriage is wholly accepted. In Bihar, the infant marriage had been regarded as a matter of enhanced social

17. *Caste in India*, op. cit., p. 159.

18. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, Frg. L1, p.115.

19. Russell and Hiralal, op. cit., III, p. 26.

20. Risley, op. cit., I, p. 289.

respectability. Now only uneducated and economically backward Yādavas follow this practice. If an unmarried girl became pregnant by a person of the same caste or by one outside, the girl was made over to him.²¹

In North India, the evil practice of dowry and huge expenditure on feasting the party of the bridegroom and reception is eating in the bones of this community. Hard earned income of them is wasted in a single night. Many deserving girls do not find good matches for themselves as their poor parents are unable to meet the nefarious demands of the father of the groom. Even the educated people shamelessly ask for dowry and do not hesitate to 'sell' their sons for gold and silver and never try to respect the sentiments of their sons. As a result such pairs have to spend a life full of imbalances and quarrels which, in a number of cases, result in family feuds, bride burning, love out of wedlock and other social evils.

Money, gifts in the form of ornaments and new clothes, fruit and sweets change hands at the time of engagement. The father, brother or the near members of family and relatives of the 'girl' go to the house of the 'boy' with all above mentioned things on a fixed day. In the presence of the village elders the 'boy' is engaged, and money and material according to the capacity of the girl's family or the demand of the boy's family is presented to the boy. Near relatives and close friends are feasted on the occasion, and some of them are presented with gifts. A day for marriage is also fixed by mutual consent on this occasion. Astronomical condition of the planets is taken into consideration for this purpose and hence necessity of the presence of the family priest, the brāhmaṇa, barber and other menials of the village get corn fixed for this purpose in addition to some sweets as a matter of right and in return of services rendered by them to the concerned family. Ladies who sing songs on the occasion also get corn, sweets and some money for the service they render. No ceremony is performed without singing songs meant for the occasion.

On the fixed day, some persons from the house of the 'girl' come to the house of the 'boy' with letter of invitation for the marriage of the two. They bring money, new clothes for women, men and children of the household of the 'boy'. Again in the assembly of the village elders and other people or relatives, a mark of turmeric is put on the forehead of the boy, money, clothes and some sweets are put in his lap. A Brāhmaṇa chants some *mantras* and *slokas*, ties a thread round the wrist of the right hand and throws some rice over the head of the boy and sprinkles some drops of water on the body of the boy wetting a small bundle of green grass.

The groom, generally riding a mare, in procession with a band playing on, goes to the house of the bride. The number of the party accompanying the groom may be anything from five to five hundred or more. They are received at the boundary of the village by offering some money as a mark of respect or like paying a 'tax' to a guest ruler. The party is taken to the village of the bride and accommodated in some common building or some big private building. Snacks are served with hot or cold, sometimes beer or wine is also served by the host. It is an evil habit of the Yādavas which had been a cause of their ruin in the past.

21. Russell and Hiralal, *op.cit.*

The marriage ceremony in Khandesh is performed under a shed of twelve posts in front of the bride's hut. Twelve earthen pots full of water are kept under the shed for five days. The details of marriage ceremony do not differ much from those followed by other Hindus. In Poona and Khandesh, the marriage of the Ahirs is conducted by the Northern Brahmans called Pandes; but in Madhya Pradesh it is conducted by the relations called *Śaivasins*. In the Hindi belt, it is the Brāhmaṇas who conduct the ceremony enchanting Veda *mantras* and sometimes reciting *slokas* selected for the ceremony and explaining them in Hindi or local dialect. In the marriage ceremony of the Mohammadan Gaddis or Ghosis, songs were sung in praise of Hindu deities. It was believed that every house of the Ghosi must possess a silver image of the goddess. On the whole the marriage of the Ghosis was just like that of the Ahirs but performed by a Kazi. Similarly, the Meos of Mewat, majority of them being Yādavas—turned Muslims (half), used to follow Hindu rites till near past, but now *nikah* is performed by a Kazi, other ceremonies being like the Ahirs.

Marriage is an occasion for great pomp and show. The house of the bride is decorated, sweets of different kinds are prepared, friends, relatives and members of community are invited and they feast together on this occasion. Gifts are exchanged and money changes hands. Sometimes this is big reason for the ruin of the family of the bride. Dowry is an evil custom among the Yādavas. What started as a gesture of affection has now turned out to be an utterly callous business. In the days of yore, while getting their daughters married, the parents out of love and affection provided their wards with gold, ornaments and some money. The intention behind this gesture was to allow her to get to know her husband, a stranger, without pestering him for her basic necessities. Now this practice should be done away with.

After marriage, the groom, and the party, returns with the bride to the house of the former, where the couple is received with welcome songs. The bride, particularly in north India, covers his head and face with a veil. Only the ladies whose husbands are alive, or virgins welcome the couple and look the face of the bride, others, including the males are not supposed to see the face of the bride. Even the bridegroom cannot look the face of the bride in the presence of others. But slowly and slowly this old custom is also dying away. Now *Varamālā* or the ceremony of garlanding is held in the presence of all guests, and the bride comes without veil to garland and to be garlanded by the groom. After this *saptapadi* or moving seven steps is performed around the holy fire of Yajña. Educated women, by and large, have done away with the *purdah* (veil) system in North India also.

In case of widow-marriage this all does not happen. A very simple ceremony of 'acceptance' is held in the presence of the elders and relatives in which the father or brother of the widow gives a rupee to the suitor and applies a *tikkā* on his forehead. If one brings a widow for marriage purpose from another village, generally she is admitted in the house from the rear gate or some such provision is made. It is called *Gharawāsā* (settling the house). Sometimes it is not considered good in so-called high families and their wards are not considered suitable for marriage in high families of Yādavas.

In Bihar, the final ceremony celebrating the departure of the bride to the house of the bridegroom and regular connubial relations ordinarily take place after four months of the wedding ceremony. In Haryana and Rajasthan, if the bride was infant or a child, her departure

to the house of her husband was postponed for three, five or seven years. If the bride and bridegroom are not mature enough, the former shall go to the house of the latter but regular connubial relations will take place after one or three years after '*Gaunā*-ceremony' (going after marriage). Parents of the 'girls' give presents in the form of cash and kind to the women of the 'boy'. After a simple and brief ceremony the 'girl' leaves her parents, village damsels singing departing songs see her off with their eyes moistened with tears and the 'girl' hugging her parents, sisters, brothers, aunts, etc., wailing and crying and then departing in a vehicle brought by her husband and his party. Earlier it could be a chariot, a cart or a camel, but now a days cars, scooters or motor cycles are used.

Obligation to pay in cash and kind of parents of the 'girl' does not end with her marriage, rather it begins with it. Her parents have to send money, edibles, clothes and other presents on the festivals and other happy occasions, birth and marriage of a son to their daughter being most important. On both occasions the parents or their family is invited through a barber or a brāhmaṇa in the case of birth, and in case of marriage of the son, the mother herself goes to invite her brothers for *Bhāta* (cooked rice) ceremony. It is also a sort of dowry. Brothers of the woman come with gifts, ornaments and money which are displayed and announced at theirs and their sister's house. Such practice should be condemned as it leads to ruin many families for show and false prestige. Many Yādavas even never enjoy full clothes and good food in their life but they make a show of their vanity on these occasions and even borrow money or mortgage or sell their lands or pawn their ornaments for these occasions. Sisters even pester and pressurise their brothers for more and more money and other valuable gifts. This shows the ostentatious display and greediness of Yādavas.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

GAMES AND SPORTS

Yādavas had been lovers of games and sports. While grazing cattle, they found enough time for these activities. Being forest dwellers, finding out kine and roaming in the forest was their engagement. People living hard life and sturdy could exist in the state of nature. For this hard work, exercise and games were a paramount necessity. Children played on flute, foot ball, crawling on four and imitate sound of wild beasts or imitated the sound of thunder, crows, cocks, cows, bees, parrots and chattering in indistinct notes, or warble like a cuckoo. This taste remained throughout the life of a Yādava. They acted in dramas, sang folk songs in a coarse or solo danced on ceremonial occasions, etc.

Bull-fight was famous sport of the Yādava-Ābhīras. The *Harivamsa* describes that in the autumn nights Kṛṣṇa used to arrange bull-fights in the cowpens of Vṛja, in which strong youths participated.¹ This is still popular in the Yādavas of Tamil Nadu. From Yādavas it spread to other countries of the world, and is still popular among Spain. Is there any connection between the two countries? The traditions of the bull fight and the dance of Ayars, have been preserved in the Tamil classics of the Sangam age wherein the girls used to marry the victorious youths. In Yādava settlements in the rural areas competition with challenges take place on any occasion whenever some Yādavas of different places or relatives assemble, may it be a marriage ceremony, a birthday party, a feast on the death of an old Yādava male or female, a religious ceremony or a festival. To challenge others and accept the challenge is a very common trait of the Yādavas. Instead of discussing politics, ethics or religion, they talk of physical force and wrestling. Perhaps this is one of the major cause of their backwardness. An uneducated Ahir likes to be called a 'wrestler', and not a 'scholar'. Yādavas spent time, money and energy for developing, preserving and practising this ancient art. Even Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma were very good wrestlers and they killed their wrestler maternal uncle Kamsa in a wrestling bout.

The *Harivamsa* portrays legendary origin of wrestling. It was first introduced by the Creator (*Brahmā*), to use skill and strength rather than weapon against the opponent. The success and failure in wrestling is decided by the judges, who had been wrestlers in their youth. There are adequate rules and regulations for wrestling. When the wrestlers are ready

1. *Harivamsa*, XXV, sloka 16-17.

in arena (*Akhārā*), judges are appointed, who inspect the bodies, dress and nails of both wrestlers. Particulars of the trial and other rules are announced by the judges. The name of the wrestler, caste and place of birth are announced before the bout takes place. The success of the wrestlers in the arena mainly depend upon fortitude, manliness, good conduct and strength. By throwing down his antagonist, the wrestler is declared successful.

The arena for wrestling consists of many platforms and scaffolds for persons of different grades. It is decorated with garlands, flags of torn pieces of cloth and ornamental arches. Drums are beaten to encourage and excite the wrestlers. People sit in a circle in the stadium or even on ground where there are no permanent stadia. Earlier ladies also used to witness the competitions, now it is rare. People do not remain silent spectators when a bout is in progress, excited people cry hoarse to encourage their wrestler by taking sides, but the judges remain neutral, silent and unexcited. Excitement is high and if a wrong judgement is pronounced, the judges would invite trouble, spectators may turn into a violent mob. They do not take the wrong decisions laying down.

Details of the contest between Chāṇūra and Kṛṣṇa have graphically been given in the *Harivamsa* and the *Bhāgavata*, which clearly represent the wrestling tactics of the Ābhīras, which has not changed despite the passing of long period. The contest began by clasping one another by the hands and turning each other with the legs. They struck by each other with their knuckle bones, knees, heads and chests. They fought with each other by moving in a circle, striking and grasping one another's arm by throwing the other down on the ground, by retreating and facing one another. They wounded each other by raising from the ground, pressing one another's joints and contracting one another's limbs. In the end, the combatant Chāṇūra was dashed on the ground. The other wrestlers also were struck by fists, vomitted blood and dropped dead. Muṣṭika, Kūṭa, Sala and Tośala were killed by Balarāma and other Yādava wrestlers. Kṛṣṇa killed Kamsa. The victorious Ābhīras rejoiced by sounding drums and tabors and danced in the arena.² The rules have been modified, and the wrestlers are not allowed to physically harm the opponents. Graphic descriptions are given in the *Bhāgavata* and *Harivamsa* of the other sports which the Ahirs enjoyed and in which physical strength was required. Sometimes they used to divide themselves in two parties, each headed by one leader. At a distance a tree was fixed as goal and both the parties used to run in competition, the winners were entitled to enjoy a ride from the tree to their place over the shoulders of the defeated party.³ Similarly some object was fixed, and one party would become the defender and the other to capture it. Skill, strength and swiftness was displayed in it and the defeated party would carry the winners on their back. In another game, one boy would sit as a cow of the boys who were to take it away from those who had stolen it and were protecting it. The boys run in rectangular alleys and if a boy of the protecting party touched the boy of the other party, he was considered to be 'dead'. The game would go on till either all were 'dead' or the 'cow' was taken away by the party which would be declared winner. Educational system has

2. Suryavamsi, *op.cit.*, p. 64.

3. *Bhāgavata*, X, 18, Śloka 18-20.

harmd the indigenous games and sports. Now we do not find the rural Yādava young boys playing these games as they used to do with the setting in of rainy season. Now they have resorted to modern games.

The Yādavas also enjoyed horse riding. To be a horse-rider and possessing a horse had been a matter of prestige among all communities in general and the Yādava-Ābhīras in particular. The village damsels aspired for a horse-rider as their would be husbands, and expressed their desire through folk songs. Being horse-riders, the Yādavas mastered the art of controlling the horses. The *Bhāgavata* portrays a beautiful picture of controlling a naughty horse by Śrī Kṛṣṇa and in the myth of the death of Keśi, the horse.⁴ Keeping horse is thought to be prestigious in the rural areas, but now well-to do Yādavas prefer to have 'Maruti'. The Yādavas also arranged, organised and participated in the races of bullocks and bullock-carts. The winner was honoured with a prize. They also participated in the camel-race. This proves that the Yādavas have been loving competitions in every walk of life. They like adventure and games of thrill. They play cricket, badminton, volley ball, foot ball, kabaddi, chess, billiards, athletics, shooting, swimming, etc., and participate in national and international competitions and bring laurels.

The *Harivamsa*⁵ describes the water sports of the Yādavas in the times of Kṛṣṇa in Dwārakā. The Yādavas, desirous of sporting in the ocean, set out in groups with accomplished dancing girls. On reaching the beach, Balarāma inabriated, adorned himself with garland of wild flowers. The Yādavas enjoyed a bath in the high tides of the ocean. Some women were rowing in the wooden boats. The dancing girls were brought by force to enjoin the party; standing in the water, they played many notes and delighted themselves by songs with music of the bangles produced by the girls. Holding the damsels by hand, they began to move about freely and dive into the water. Throughout the day, after taking various sorts of eatables and drinks they enjoyed in the water. When the evening set in, the Yādavas came out of the water and began to sport in the house boats. These sports were enlivened by the sound of trumpets, music and dance. The dancing girls were brought from different parts of India; and after drinking, they sung in their own languages set of thousands of tunes. Soon after, some members reeling with intoxication and holding the hands of damsels jumped sportively in the ocean. Some women started throwing water on one another with instruments in harshness. Seeing the harshness increasing, Kṛṣṇa prevented them but the damsels continued dancing. When all the members of the party came out of the water, they sat on the sandy beach to enjoy their dinner and drink. Food was followed by dance and music of the women.

The Women

The beauty of Yādava-Ābhīra women has been a famous episode of Sanskrit and *Apabhramsa*. They contrived to attract young men by putting on fine clothes decked in

4. *Ibid.*, 37.

5. Quoted in *The Abhiras*, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

shining yellow and blue colours,⁶ both the colours are still liked by the Ahir women-folk in the rural areas. An Ahiri can be recognised by her dress and its colour in the country side. Their dress in the ancient times consisted of a bodice and skirt touching the ankles, decorated with pieces of mirror and embroidered on the lower part, sometimes of matching colour but mostly contrasting blue and yellow. This proves that the Yādavas has been traditional people in their dress. The ladies decorated their heads with flowers and garlands, as is still done in the southern part of our country. This shows their love for nature and aestheticism. They were fashionable in the sense that the Yādava women, contrary to general belief, led others in this sphere. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* tells us that the Yādava-Ābhīra women had two *veṇis* (hair plaits) on their head and had a fascination for blue garments⁷ which is considered attractive for lovers and a colour of zodiac. Even today young ladies put on this colour to attract and please their lovers. Though the clothes were put on according to seasons and climatic conditions, yet the Yādava women designed these according to their taste and aesthetic sense. Subhadra, younger sister of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and wife of Arjun, when went to see Draupadi in her palace, was clad in the dress of cowherd women which was very attractive. Ordinary folk used cotton clothes in daily life, but rich in daily life and middle class women-folk used silken garments. On special occasions silk was a must for clothes, as on the occasion of marriage ceremony at least one silken dress has been a must for the bride.

The *Padmapurāṇa* takes a special notice of the fine delicate features of the Yādavas women. Their graceful look and gait are also attested by other works.⁸ As the Yādava had been believers in equality in every sphere of life, thought and action, their women folk were not considered or treated as inferior to men. They equally participated in every sphere of life with the men folk. The Yādava women did not surrender to the hardships of the life, rather they faced these bravely. Damayanti, wife of Nala, did not desert her husband in trouble, though the latter deserted her in an hour of trouble. Kunti, mother of the Pāṇḍavas, faced all difficulties heroically and not only brought up her own three sons ably, but also looked after the two sons of Mādri after the death of Pāṇḍu and Mādri burning herself with Pāṇḍu. Only a Yādavī could prepare such able and famous sons ready to vanquish a group of tyrants in the famous Bhārata war. The Yādava women could well defend Dwrakā in the absence of their men-folk, and could successfully repel the enemy without fear. Even today Yādava women are famous for their fearlessness and they readily face any trouble instead of surrendering before any tyrant. The Yādava women contributed equal share and strength in the economic field. If the men folk worked outside in the fields or grazed cattle in the jungle, the women worked in the house and looked after household affairs, tended the calves, swept the cattle-shed, prepared meals and took lunch to the fields or the jungle. No one could dare to terrify, molest or thwart their way. When in a mood to revenge or retaliate an Ahir woman is worse than a tigress. Almost on every occasion, the women folk carry some sort of a weapon—sickle, axe, etc., with themselves while going outside, not as a measure for safety

6. *Padma*, Anandasrama Series II, 72, Ślokas 111-12, pp. 594-596.

7. *Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata*, Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. CXXIV, Vol. III, 21, 68-69.

8. *Op. cit.*, Ślokas 240-256.

but as a mean to use it for bringing fodder or fuel. An Ahir woman never sits idle. Lazy, talkative and shirker women are not liked in this community. Ahirs are of the view that ladies of fair colour and more beautiful are not amenable to hard work. Thus they have no abhorrence for black colour or less beautiful women as house-wives as they are considered to be hard workers and not wasting their time and money to look after their ownself. But the educated and employed Yādavas have the opposite consideration. Now they prefer educated, smart, beautiful, fair complex and employed wives. Consequently girls are also being sent to schools and colleges for education, but still the situation is not entirely satisfactory. The rate of female literacy in Yādavas is very low.

Ahir women had been very hospitable to guests from the ancient past, and are still so, barring a few exceptions. Buddhasvamin has specially paid attention to such hospitality shown to the guests by the Ābhīra women. Guests were well received in the house, offered cold or hot beverage befitting the climate, cosmetics at the time of bath to keep the body clean and offered delicious food with sweet welcoming songs by the damsels with merriful mood. Usually the guest was entertained with milk, butter and curd, but wine was also served. Now a days, more and more people resorting to the use of wine and beer. As prosperity comes, people change their ways of life and copy others even it is harmful. It is believed that the main cause of the ruin of Yādavas was wine. This should be eye-opener to them. They have learnt little and still they are indulging in taking wine and merry-making.

From early morning till night, the women keep themselves busy in their houses by grinding corn for members of the family and the cattle, churning curd, plastering and cleaning their houses with clay mixed with cow-dung, sprinkling water, drawing water from a well and fetching it in pitchers, watering the plants, rocking the cradles and lulling their crying babies and a number of other daily routine household work. In the day time they work in the fields and assist the men folk in sowing, weeding, harvesting the crop, etc. and looking after the cattle. They cook twice or thrice daily for the family. Generally Yādava women work hard more than women of other castes. For instance, the Rajput women do not go outside their homes and so do not work in the fields. Similar is the case of women folk of Baniyas, Brāhmaṇas and some other non-agricultural castes. Jat women have a dominating position in their society and they do less work than the Yādava-Ahir women, with the result that most of them grow old at forty or fifty. They have to work mostly in unhygienic conditions without medicinal facilities and better health conditions. Small dingy houses of the poor, hearths emitting smoke which spoils eyes and lungs of the women and result in other diseases, and sharing the same house with animals is the fate of majority of the Yādavas. This makes them ill and short-tempered which results in unhappy domestic life. But now smokeless *chullahs* or *gobar* gas plants are being used in rural areas by the Yādava women to mitigate these problems. Even with this busy schedule the Ahiris manage to keep themselves beautiful—decorated with ornaments, cosmetics, flowers, make-up and busy with singing and dancing on ceremonial occasions even they have to keep awaken throughout the whole night. No *Ahiri* goes out without make-up and putting on new clothes of traditional or latest fashion. In Sanskrit literature they are famous for this, particularly as having two braids (of hair). They are amorous by nature. The author of *Saṅgītasaraṇi* tends

to delineate the features of the Ābhīras, with their kingly glamour. The women, figured in the iconography depicts the ideas of delicate feature of the Ahir damsel. The ornamentation and gait of the goddess Ābhīri, is an impressionism of their advance culture. The description of the youthful gait and fully decorated goddess again, bears the import of their amorous contexture.

As Yādavas had been democrat in their life, they did not inhibit their women-folk to deal with others. In a story, embodied in the *Āvaśyakaniryukti* of Bhadrabāhu and the *Āvaśyakacūraṇi*, the character of the Ābhīra women of the medieval period has been well sketched. An Ābhīra woman of Mathura used to supply milk and curd to a perfumer. On the occasion of her son's marriage, she invited her customer—the perfumer. The latter could not attend the wedding but sent ornaments and clothes to the bride. The Ābhīras were very pleased and presented two strong bullcalves to the perfumer.⁹ The Yādavas do not believe in taking even gifts without any return. Every Ahir would like to pay back every good action or gift given to him. The authors of Jain *Sūtras* have shown favour in portraying the peculiarities of the Ābhīra women. Bhadrabāhu mentions an occasion when some Ābhīra women drove a village lord Bhogika out of their own village, when the latter was staying in a temple situated in a village inhabited by the Ābhīras. His stay in the temple hampered the freedom of the Ābhīra women. In order to drive him out, they took their herds out of the village but allowed their calves to remain in their stables. When the night came and the cows could not return to their stables, the calves started crying aloud which was equally responded by the cows who were standing out of the village. As the gateway of the village was closed by the women, Bhogika could neither go out of the village to sleep outside nor he could sleep in the temple. In the morning he thought it better to make a move from the village.¹⁰ Such incidents are many.

Manners and Morals

The Yādavas, Ābhīras, Ahirs, Gwālas, Ghosis, Ayars, Idiyans, etc., are ancient people. They did not differ much in manners and morals with other sections of the society, particularly the higher and middle strata of the society prevalent at any given time of the Indian history. 'While in Rome, do as the Romans do', has been an axiom applicable everywhere. But sometime, the Yādavas tried to maintain their separate identity and tried to distinguish themselves from others. They had an open society, and the women had neither a subordinate position in the society, nor there was much restriction on the young girls. We find, for instance, Kunti having a son, Karna, even when she was unmarried and studying. Though it was not considered proper or appreciated, or even tolerated, by the Yādava society, it is a glaring example of such moral standards of the social life. The love play of Kṛṣṇa with

9. Quoted in *The Abhiras*, op. cit., p. 61.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

the Gopikas (cowherdresses) indicates the custom of promiscuity in Yādava society. Though these love scenes have been interpreted by propounders of *Vaiṣṇava* cult as a symbolic representation of God and *ātmaśakti*—his own eternal blissful nature, yet the freedom of sexual intercourse among the Ābhīra women is doubtlessly evident from it. Being forest dwellers, the Ābhīras loved nature, especially the green woodland glades dotted with the forest of Vṛndā must have inspired them with art and love. The free morals of the *gopis*, found free expression against the sylvan background and they did not feel shy in offering their love to youth and beauty.¹¹ But the above description is not the true picture of the Yādavas in the times of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Such description is interpolation of 13th or 14th century to justify certain social problems, particularly of young widows of Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas.

We have no standards to measure the morals of ancient Indian society. In spite of the fact that Kunti gave birth to Karna before her marriage with Pāṇḍu, and Draupadi was the wife of all the five Pāṇḍava brothers, they are considered two of the five virgins (*Kanyās*) in the Indian mythology. Every society had its own morals and manners. The Yādavas had been strong, obstinate, adventurous and haughty throughout their history and till date. They may lax in moral ideals prescribed in scriptures, but so are the other societies or castes in India. Majority of the young boys and girls have pre-marital experience of sexual inter-course among all societies, there are varied form of these experiences in different castes or social groups. Yādavas, being an open society, may enjoy it more than others. Sex out of wedlock is neither appreciated nor tolerated, even murders take place due to such acts. Family feuds are responsible for such social offences and any Yādava would like to kill his enemy or die himself in such a revengeful feud which is due to wealth, woman and land. These are protected at every cost, even at the cost of life.

Yādava women do not commit *Sati* (burn living with the corpse of the husband), but are taken as wives by the younger brothers of the deceased. This is a sort of social security provided by the Yādavas to their young widows, and the latter do not find themselves forced to go to brothels or leading a life of hell by being an easy prey to the lust of every male member in the house of the in-laws. They do not have to live a tortured life, but lead an honourable life in the society. Sons or daughters of widows remarrying their younger brothers-in-law are not looked upon by others. Some of the so-called upper castes who did not like the widow-marriage earlier, are accepting this socially useful practice in themselves.

Child marriage among the Yādavas is still a bad custom, which is the result of their ignorance, backwardness, misguidance from the illiterate Brāhmaṇas, long slavery of foreign rule in India, poverty, and a number of other reasons. Dowry is a new factor for this evil. The neo-rich make and think dowry as a symbol of social status, more dowry not only raises their status in the society, it helps them economically, but it is a false notion as everyone finds himself poorer after every marriage of his sons and daughters. Thus dowry does not make one rich. Educated people are also better in no way in this regard, as they demand more dowry than uneducated. This is one of the major reasons of the backwardness of Yādavas.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

The Yādavas had been famous in Sanskrit literature for their romantic nature. The *Kathāsaritāsāgara* mentions their love affairs with the wives of the members of other high castes. According to a story, a Brāhmaṇa named Rūdrasoma had gone to some distant lands for some work. When he was returning he saw a cowherd singing with joy on the bank of the river near his house, like one beside himself. Rūdrasoma became anxious to know the reason of his rapture. The cowherd on being questioned, revealed the secret of his own connection with the wife of Rūdrasoma not knowing him. When Rūdrasoma got the truth of it, he renounced the world.¹² Another story also reveals the secret love affairs of a *gopāla* with the wife of the Brāhmaṇa Vāmadata, when the latter was out. The wife being a witch, made her husband a buffalo. When the secret was out she continued her love with the *gopāla* even then. The *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana mentions one Ābhira king of Kotta, who was killed by a washerman, employed by his brother when he was in the house of some other citizen.¹³ The book also describes that the queens of the Ābhira kings used to give themselves up to the guards of the harems.¹⁴ It shows the passionate character of the Ābhīras. But the other side of the coin is that other castes, i.e., Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas also were of the same character. If the others distinguished Yādavas in this regard, it is clear case of prejudice.

As the Yādavas live mostly in country side, they lead a natural life. They have lesser inhibitions than other so-called high castes of cities or educated people. City-people are considered to be civilised and cultured, whereas the rural people are abhorred by these so-called civilised ones. In fact there are two simultaneous cultures in the world—urban and rural. As the urban culture dominates today, it is considered superior and the rural culture, or whatever is rural, is considered inferior. In medieval times, Brahmanical philosophy dominated the scene. In order to prove its superiority it was recorded in the (ancient) books that the Dravidas, Ābhīras, Puṇḍras and the Śābaras became *Śūdra* (*Vṛṣala*) due to not seeing the Brāhmaṇas, the latter's contact was necessary to keep them pure. According to *Mahābhārata* they became *Śūdra* due to neglect of their Kṣatriya duties assigned to them.¹⁵ Due to their educational and economic backwardness rural people are socially backward also and not liked by people living in cities.

Some writers are of the view that Yādava-Ahirs are neither Aryans¹⁶ nor Kṣatriyas,¹⁷ and 'in spite of their capacity to bear arms and command the services of the Kṣatriya caste 'could not attain high status in the society'.¹⁸ Hemachandra opines that the Ābhīras being cowherds (*gavādyupajīva*) were a section of the Vaiśya (*Vaiśyabhedena*).¹⁹ Suryavamsi is of the view that the 'persistence of the traditional belief of the people got impetus from the unusual

12. Penzer and Tawney, *op.cit.*, V, 148.

13. *Kāmasūtra of Vātsyayana*, Benares, *op.cit.*, p. 287.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 294.

15. Mbh. Aśvamedhādikaparvan, XXIX, 830-832.

16. Suryavamsi, *op.cit.*, p. 25.

17. *Kāmasūtra of Vātsyayana*, *op.cit.*, p. 294.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi of Hemachandra*, Edi. by Boehtlink and Riew, S.T., Petersburg, 1847, p. 522.

institutions of the Ābhīras which were looked down upon by the people. The lax morality of the women and their predatory instinct may be cited as an example of the same.²⁰ Some other books of the medieval period also depict Yādava-Ābhīras to be of low origin or *Varṇasankaras* (bastards) or 'a man of the low or impure origin'. Some Somadeva in his *Kathāsaritasāgara*, describes the Gopa as a man of low origin. Some *Bṛhannāradiyapurāṇa* tells that the Ābhīras were not entitled to worship the gods. It is said to record that "by saluting a *liṅga* (Phallus) worshipped by an Ābhīra, one goes to hell ...even though one be versed in the Vedas or knows the meaning of all the *Śāstras*", the high class people have been warned by the said book that "one who salutes a *liṅga* or (an image of) Viṣṇu worshipped by an Ābhīra meets with destruction". According to Suryavamsi,²¹ 'this extreme contemptuous view of the *Bṛhannāradiyapurāṇa* represents the opinion of the most conservative section of the society'. He further elaborates: 'If we accept the dates established by R.C. Hazard for the compilation of this work (c. 7th century A.D. to 15th century), then it would appear that during this period the Ābhīras lost their glory due to the onslaughts of the South Indian powers..... in most cases the wholesale political destruction of the Ābhīras were brought by the Chālukyas, Kadambas and the Yādavas on the initiation of the Brāhmaṇas. Therefore this attitude of the *Bṛhannāradiya* is not surprising". In spite of this Suryavamsi either does not understand the situation or wants to be a prey of ignorance.

Taking a cue from these brahmanical interpolated books of dark-age, Suryavamsi writes further:²² "It is evident from the above data that the Ābhīras had no connection with the Aryan blood. Being forest-dwellers they were living in the mountain fastness hence their identity seems to have remained obscure for a long period that is why possibly they have not been mentioned in the records earlier than the 2nd century B.C. In course of their migration they came in conflict with the Aryans. As these forest tribes were organised in the form of a *gaṇa* (republic) of the mercenaries, they started their inroads upon the Aryans. They were nomadic herdsmen living in the forest, hence they had no connection with the Aryan *Varṇas*." It only proves the ignorance of this scholar who at one place describes Ābhīras and Yādavas as one and the same people²³ and at another place as different people.²⁴ In fact Yādavas and Ābhīras were the same people being called by two names. Secondly, the so-called Aryan Theory is only a misnomer, and hence need not be discussed.

The so called *Varṇa* system was only a creation of some scholars only. If *varṇa* is due to actions, then all would not Brāhmaṇas even in a family of Brāhmaṇa, as the word means, one who knows the Brahma, who reads, knows or teaches Vedas, etc. what shall you call the wife of a Brāhmaṇa who does household work and is illiterate, his son is employed as manager in a factory, another as a peon and the third one an officer in the army. If *Varṇa* is to be decided by birth, as it is considered to be so nowadays, then Yadu was born of a Kṣatriya

20. Suryavamsi, p. 23.

21. *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 65, 66.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

father and a Brāhmaṇa mother. Now it is not worthwhile to discuss whether the Yādavas, Ābhīras (Ahirs), Gopālas, etc. are Aryan or not, or to which *Varṇa* they belonged. No caste is confined to any occupation, profession or particular assignment. Everyone is free to choose an occupation according to his ability, qualification and choice. Caste is no criteria for deciding *Varṇa* or occupation. The Yādavas had been doing all jobs except begging and occupations described as polluted.

Taking a cue from the medieval writers, some of the modern also, particularly Brāhmaṇas, have given undue importance to the *Varṇa* system and proving that Śūdras were the worst creatures and they did not deserve any good thing in the society. The authors of '*History and Culture of the Indian People*', for example, have quoted extensively from one Medhātithi to perpetuate and propagate the obnoxious and interpolated system of *Varṇa* and the mentality to prove and show all inferior, spiteful, obnoxious and untouchable except Brāhmaṇas. The book records:²⁵ "We may now turn to views of Medhātithi which are sufficiently important and distinctive to be considered separately". The only purpose of the authors is to prove the superiority of the Brāhmaṇas in all ages by quoting Manu, the law-giver. We know for certain that *Manusmṛti* has been interpolated a number of times when the Kṣatriyas lost their kingdom, India became slave and there was no check on the Brāhmaṇas to interpolate the sacred or legal texts. Śūdra had never been a caste in the ancient past, it was just like a class, like the menials or ministerials of administration of today. A peon, a clerk or a servant of class four may be of any caste; he has to perform the duties of his job, he is low paid and even does not enjoy the same social or official status as enjoyed by the class one officer of his caste. Everyone had to seek prior permission to see any high officer even of any caste. In medieval period, when occupations became hereditary, the country became slave, people remained uneducated and poverty stricken, ignorance, helplessness and apathy prevailed in the society; our scriptures were being destroyed, some of the scholars were forced to interpolate or some did of their own by prejudice against some castes or *Varṇas*. Society never observed the rules of the four-fold *Varṇa*-system. It was a forced clubbing by some ambitious scholars to create a new system. The nature of society in India had never been so simple as described by some scholars. There had been numerous castes. Some were forced by social, political or economic forces to adopt some inferior occupations, and this made them untouchables in the society.

Some scholars quote the *Puruṣasūkta* of the *Saṁhita* to prove that four castes Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya, Vaiśya and Śūdra are distinctly mentioned. Again, this is a creation of the later scholars, and it shows only the organic theory of the social system in which every part of the body or every organ is important and necessary. It does not prove the superiority or inferiority of any caste or *Varṇa*. It compares the Brāhmaṇa as the head, Rājanya as the arms, Vaiśya as the stomach and the Śūdra as the feet. Life would be hell without any one of these organs. It, in no way, proves, as defined by brahmanical writers, that Śūdras were non-Aryans and other three *varṇas* were Aryans. Inter-caste marriages, along with intra-caste marriages were

25. *Op.cit.*, p. 370.

common in the society, but were began to be enlisted as *Anuloma* marriage, i.e., marriage in conformity with the established gradation of castes; and *Pratiloma* marriage, i.e., marriage in reverse order—of a woman of superior caste with a man of an inferior one. The epics are full of instances in which Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras dined together and the members of a caste were allowed to marry wives from the other castes in addition to his own.

Ornaments

The Yādava-Ābhīras have been conversant with the art of decorating their bodies with ornaments of different kinds according to their economic status. Every Yādava woman is presented gold and silver ornaments at the time of her marriage by her in-laws, in addition to some pairs of costly dresses, according to their economic standard. It is the property of the woman. If the economic situation of the family improves she may get more ornaments, and if reverses the same ornaments may be a source of income. Only in very reverse economic conditions the owner of the house shall take the extreme step to pawn the ornaments of the women of the house as these ornaments are symbol of prestige of the family. Ornaments are not only a symbol of economic condition and improve social status of the family in the eyes of others, these are a reserve for the bad economic condition of the family. The first preference of an Ahir is to purchase agricultural land, and he would not hesitate to pawn, sell or exchange ornaments for this. But sometimes they also do for bad customs and social evils. Nowadays the women mostly put on gold and silver ornaments in neck, ears, nose, arms, hands, fingers, ankles, toes, waist, forehead and even in their hair. Due to social reforms lesser and lesser ornaments are put on ankles as was done twenty to thirty years back. They prefer now gold for the hands and upper parts of the body. Ornaments of daily use are different than which are borne on special occasions, such as, marriage ceremonies, birth ceremonies, festivals, feasts or some other occasions of happy get togethers. In a way ornaments are displayed to impress others.

Yādava males also put on ornaments of gold and silver, very rich using gems. They put on gold chains around their necks, earrings in ears, rings in fingers of hands, and some wearing thick silver rings in ankles, but this custom is on wane and not in vogue in the educated Ahirs. At the birth of a male child in the family, in particular; and the female child in general, the maternal-grand parents of the child gift gold or silver ornaments of the child along with other new clothes for the new-born. Male members use less in quantity, and their number is also small who put on ornaments, in comparison to Yādava-Ahir women.

The Yādava ladies are also fond of using all sorts of cosmetics available to them, but economically backward women have to contend with the homemade cosmetics. Educated women and those who can afford spend a considerable amount on cosmetics, perfumes, dyes for hair, eye-brows, face, etc. Bangles made of glass and lac (sealing wax) are worn by all ladies, irrespective of their age, but the widows do not put on lac bangles, either they do not put on bangles at all, or they wear bangles of gilt or wealthy ladies putting on only gold

bangles. Bangles of glass and lac are considered the symbols of a woman's blessed state of life when her spouse is alive.

Folk-Music

Being country side dwellers, the Yādavas loved nature, specially the green woodland glades. They are the children of nature. They feel suffocated in urban areas where they cannot move freely and live in their desired way. They enjoy nature (who can be more ecologists and conservator of nature than Yādavas!) The *Purāṇas* depict the Ābhīra women as excellent musicians, though *Bhāgavata* speaks of their knowledge of classical music, their capability to take *ālāpa* and transform some of the *rāgas* into *dhruvatāla*, it seems doubtful to accept that the Ābhīras mastered the classical music, specially at the nomadic stage of their culture. The classical music was an outcome of the civilized society, though it was developed from the songs of the pastoral people in the very beginning.²⁶ Albeit folk songs are the treasure of the Yādavas. Their love for music and dance is so emphatic that none of their ceremony, action or even daily routine begins with singing by women-folk. Whenever or wherever some Yādava women assemble they shall start singing. Perhaps they like to dialogue in verse, and not in prose. The women-folk rise early in the morning, and with singing begin their daily routine. Grinding corn, churning curd, drawing water from well, harvesting crops, sowing seeds, going for grass cutting in fields, or any other occasion spontaneously stimulate the Ahir women to sing. Whenever a son-in-law visits the house for taking his wife to his house or the daughter comes to her father's house to invite for any ceremony at her house, it is an occasion to welcome them with star songs. Folk music by Yādava women is displayed as welcome songs when the guests take their dinner. These women, may include a Brāhmaṇa, a barber woman and other women of the house and neighbourhood. They are all non-professionals, but they render music in a melodious voice. These are self-composed songs, sometimes narrating some heroic episode, or valour of the guests or his fore-fathers and the hosts, and sometimes caricaturing couplets (*sīṭhaṇā*) for humour. Śārangadeva, the author of *Saṅgītaratnākara* (A.D. 1210-1247), lays down that the folk music captivates the popular ears and appeals directly to the heart of the people of various land and climates.²⁷ He describes *Ābhirika* and *Ābhīri rāgas* in the catalogue of *grāmarāgas*.

Many scholars have worked on the folk-music of these people. Nārada, the author of *Saṅgītamakaranda* (c.7th to 9th A.D.) mentions a *rāga* named *gopikā*, to be sung in the day time. Thus *gopikārāga* seems to be a form of Yādavas' music, as *Ābhīri* or *Ahīri* or a variant form of it.²⁸ An earlier treatise, ascribed to the period of c. 4th to 7th century A.D. by O.C. Gangoly,²⁹ also traces the folk-music of Ābhīras. In *Bṛhddēśi*, Mātang has specifically

26. *The Abhiras*, op.cit., p. 76.

27. *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Anandasrama series, 1896, 1.1.1.23.

28. *Saṅgīta Makaranda of Nārada*, Ed. by Mangesh Ramkrishnan Telang, Baroda, 1920, 3, 14, p. 15.

29. 'Non-Aryan Contribution to Indian Music', *JBORI*, XIX, p. 53.

mentioned *Ābhiri* as a famous melody in the ancient *rāgas* with its compound notes as a minor *rāgini bhāṣāgīti* affiliated to *Pancamarāga*.³⁰ The iconographic features of this *rāga* as noticed by Gangoly are as follows:

Nāga kanyātitarangī dugdhapāna madotkaṭā sukaṇḍlā nāgavāhā āhīrī kāṭhīṇasṭhani. Further, *Śāngitasāraṇī*, a work on classical music furnishes the iconographic features of *Ābhīrī* or *Ābhīrikā* as follows:

Vā... kaṅkaṇa vibhūṣita bahuvallī runnidra champakamanoharagātrayaṣṭih srikhaṇḍa śailaśikhare gajamauktikaundhaih ābhīrikā Vidudhatī Śrajaminduśubhram.³¹

These iconographic features of *Ābhīrī* *rāga* impend the glory of the *Ābhīra* culture of India. The basic traits and characteristics of the *Ābhīras*, trimmed in their true colours and transcended in their history and culture, have nicely been projected and picturised in the above iconography. It represents a complete view of the *Ābhīra* society with their true personation, embedded in love and life of wilderness so pronounced in their traditions.³²

In A.D. 1131, Someśvara, the author of the *Mānasaulīśa*, gives a catalogue of the different *rāgas* current in his times.³³ He describes the structure of various melodies, in which *Ahīrī* is one of them. Jyotirīśvara, a high official of king Harisimhadeva of Kamāṭa dynasty, describes a *rāga* named *Gauda* along with *Gujjari* in his famous work *Varṇaratnākara* in the first quarter of the 14th century.³⁴ *Lorika*, the famous legend of the *Ahīrs*, also finds place as developed in the form of a dance in the 14th century in the *Varṇaratnākara*.³⁵ In South Indian music, was provided by a short but eminently scientific treatise, called *Śvaramela-Kalānidhi*,³⁶ the composition of which we owe to Rāmamātya, a minister of Vijayanagar king Rāmārāya Yādava. He mentions all the *rāgas* of Karnataka school current in his times, in which *Ābhīrī* is one of them and has been described as the tenth *rāga* in the list of the roots of the *rāgas*. Besides *Ahīrī*, he describes *Kaṇṇḍagaulā* and *Gaulī* as variant from *Ahīrī*. It seems that by the time of the Vijayanagar kings of Yādava dynasty, the music of Yādava-Ahīrs became prevalent in the society. *Gaulā* *rāga* which has been defined as *Kannadagaula*, *Ritigaula*, *Narayanagaula* etc., had developed into *grāmarāgas* or the folk music. Ayyar has given the grammar of the *gaula* *rāga*.³⁷ These songs would have been the developed forms of *Ābhīrī*, the music of the Yādava-Ahīrs as given by Matanga³⁸ in his treatise, the *Bṛīhddesī*.

In the age of Akbar, Pundarik Vithal, in his work *Sadarāgachandrodaya*, written sometimes between 1562-1599, under the service of prince Burhan Khan of Khandesh, has

30. *Bṛīhddesī of Matanga*, Ed. K. Sambasiva Shastri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 1928, pp. 106, 116, 121.

31. *Śāngitasāraṇī* vide *Bharatakoṣa*, comp. by M. Ramkrishna Kavi, Ed. P.V. Ramanujaswami. Tirupati, 1951, p. 53.

32. *The Abhīras*, op.cit., p. 77.

33. *Mānasollāsa of Someśvara*, op.cit., vide Gangoly, p. 21

34. *Varṇaratnākara*, Ed. S.K. Chatterji, Calcutta, 1940, 60 Ka.

35. *Ibid.*, 10 Kha.

36. *Swaramelakalānidhi*, reprinted in N.A. Williard's 'A treatise on the Music of Hindustan', 1882, p. 167; Aiyar, M.S. Ramaswamy, *Śvaramelakalanidhi*, Annamalai, 1932, p. 35.

37. Ayyar, C. Subrahmanya, *The Grammar of South Indian Music*, Madras, 1951, p. 48.

38. *The Abhīras*, op.cit., pp. 78-79.

prescribed the *Ābhīrī rāga* to be sung in the afternoon. Deva, a famous Hindi poet, has also described a form of *Ahīrī rāgas*. Quoting Gangoly, Suryavanshi describes that *Gurjari*, *Śaindhavi*, *Gandhāri* and *Ābhīri* are some of the earliest feminine melodies designated by Matanga under the name of Bhāṣā. In the second stage, the melodies derived their names from the ancient tribes inhabiting various parts of India.³⁹ Somanatha, in his *Rāgavibodha* (A.D. 1609) gives the timing of *Ābhīrikā* between day time after the third watch.⁴⁰ Undoubtedly, the music, particularly, the folksongs, of the Yādava-Ābhīras had excelled throughout the ages, and the *āchāryas* of different ages described these with importance. To this day their folk songs enchant the listeners and are very famous for their sweet melodies.

The folk songs of Ahirs of north India are called *Birhās* (songs of separation) which have direct connection with the yearnings of the heart of Ahirs.⁴¹ These songs are of three kinds: (1) fairly long ballads sung in accompaniment of flute; (2) short song, sung on the bamboo flutes and *Doha*. All the *Birhas* are sung in the same melody. The *Birhas* express⁴² the inner feelings of the people and portray the glimpses of the care free life of the cowherds. These *Birhās* either portray various events of devotion to their sacred gods or the past Ahir heroes, and even the ephemeral world may be the theme of the *Birhās*. The *Birha* love-songs are equally enchanting and represent the love-life of wildness full of youth and vigour. In the historical setting, they portray the heroism of their tribal chiefs. These songs bring before us the names of many unknown chiefs of the tribe like Danu Rai who is believed to have ruled over Mandla. According to the story Danu Rai was a Raja of Mandla who was famous for his bravery. He never allowed the Musalmans to enter in his country. In an encounter with the Musalmans he died fighting and his Rani performed the rites of Śati.⁴³

Almost every Ahir woman can compose a folk song and can sing in a melodious voice. In evenings, when the cows return from jungle after grazing, the village damsels dressed in their best attire and brass or iron big plates on their heads bringing dry sand or fuel to their houses walk majestically singing self composed folk songs are a view to look and appreciate. There can only an exceptional Yādava who did not sing in his youth, but with the coming of education singing is not liked by the educated.

Lorik Legend

Among all the legends of the Yādavas of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, Lorik is most famous and is a source of inspiration to these people. There are various legends about Lorik but the famous account is about a woman Chanda or Chandin and Lorik, an Ahir or Yādava. The story however describes various escapades of the woman Chandin who started loving Lorik.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

40. *Ibid.*

41. Grierson, 'Some Bhojpuri Folk Songs', *J.R.A.S.*, XVIII, p. 211.

42. *Ibid.*

43. I.A., XXXIX, pp. 325-26.

Chandin was the wife of Śivadhar, an Ahir of the eastern part. Being cursed by Parvati, Śivadhar lost his manhood and Chandin forms an attachment with her neighbour Lorik and eloped with him. Śivadhar pursued the couple, Lorik fights with Śivadhar and defeats him. The pair goes to Mahapatya Dusadh, the chief of gamblers, and in a game of disc Lorik loses everything including his wife. Chandin argues that her ornaments did not form part of the stake and induces Lorik to play again, she takes her seat before the eyes of Mahapatya and exposes herself while the latter was playing the game with Lorik. Mahapatya could not see the game due to the enchantment of the woman and finally lost it. Lorik cuts the head of the chief and starts wandering again. He defeats Hardin, the king of Monghir, who is assisted by the king of Kalinga. Lorik releases king Hardin and returns to his kingdom and comes back to his native land. There he learns about the death of his brother Simru. Lorik determines to avenge the death of his brother. Simru, and marries another beautiful woman Satmanin. He lived for many years and died at Benaras.⁴⁴

The exploits of the Ābhīra chiefs, according to Bhagwan Singh Suryavanshi,⁴⁵ “are often referred to in the songs sung by Ahirs of different States of India. The glories of these chiefs or Rajas have not been recorded by any author in a chronological order but they have been retained by their descendants in the form of songs. The Ahirs of Madhya Pradesh and Khandesh (Kanhadesh), still dream of the glories of these past heroes and their buried past.⁴⁶ Possibly, these traditions would have retained some of their historical footing which is difficult to make out due to the lack of proper contemporary evidences. This requires further research by the scholars as these Yādava-Ahirs have a rich cultural heritage.

Dances

The Yādavas were not only great warriors, but their artistic talents have been noted in the Puranic traditions, which describe the traits of Ābhīra culture in which love, romance and outdoor life played an important role.⁴⁷ They could not resist the temptation of natural rhythm and danced when the nature bloomed in the spring season. Full-moon nights excited the Yādava youth to rejoice with the damsels putting on jingling bells under the open sky on a stage in the lap of nature. They excelled in dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments their dances, as a matter of fact, popularly known as *rāsa*, were the most picturesque and valued part of their life. Love forms the supreme theme of the *rāsa*. Several stages of *rāsa* dance are depicted in the *Harivamśa* and *Bhāgavata* each contributing to the final dance where the drama ends. Besides several dialogues, songs, music and discourse, there are nine different dances in all, each with its own place and technique, for the purpose of delineation of the meaning and value of the drama of *rāsa* as a whole, so as to pave the way

44. Crooke, *op.cit.*, I, p. 56.

45. The Abhiras, *op.cit.*, p. 94.

46. Gustav Oppert, *on the original inhabitants of India*, Leipzig, MDCCC XCIII, p. 142.

47. The Abhiras, *op.cit.*, p. 70.

for and to enact the *rāsotsava*, i.e., *Mahārāsa*.⁴⁸ *Rāsa* is associated with Śrī Kṛṣṇa who popularised it and made it classical. He himself was a famous master dancer, singer and could play all the notes of the gamut.⁴⁹ He could make out *ṛṣbha*, *niṣāda*, *ṣaḍja*, in *hr̥sva*, *madhyama* and *dirgha*⁵⁰ form. He was unequal in his music but the Yādavas as a whole were capable enough to sing and dance as if it was in their blood.

The poets who enhanced the glory of the *Sangam* age of Tamil literature, have given a faithful portrayal of the dances of the cowherds. In Tamil literature Kṛṣṇa has been described as a god of pastoral people named Mullai.⁵¹ The oft-recurring term used in these classics for Kṛṣṇa, is *Mayon* or *Mayavan*, designated as black god.⁵² Dance of these cowherds (Yādavas) was called *Kuravaikuttu*, which is called *Garavā* in Gujarat, *Kudakkuttu* is another dance associated with the name of Kṛṣṇa as a form of prayers. This dance was said to have been staged by Śrī Kṛṣṇa after vanquishing Bāṇāsura. *Rāsa* was taken by the Yādavas to south when they migrated to that land. The folk dances having been patronised and popularised by the Yādavas soon gained currency all over the country, and therefore with the march of time, this form of popular dance came to be recognised and adopted by the other sections of the society. The glories of these dances of the Yādava-Āhīrs are still living in the shape of the folk dances in Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana, Bihar and other parts of the country. The *Garbā* dance of Gujarat, as a matter of fact, is a derivation of the old *rāsaka*. The *dandiya* dance of Gujarat and western Rajasthan is a famous dance of the Yādava-Ābhīrs. These dances thus enveloped the folk art of the day and not only did it encompass the horizon of India but enriched the spirituality of art consciousness of the residents of the countries of Java, Cambodia, Bali and Siam.⁵³ The folk dances of the Yādavas have become the national treasure and heritage. The Yādavas have contributed significantly to the music and dances of India.

The Panchayats

Mainly Yādavas had been democrat in their social and political systems. They decided their important matters in their assemblies which were with and without written constitutions and functioned on traditions. Decisions are taken collectively. The whole village assembles to take decisions in matters concerning all. Some one has violated the moral code or he wants to feast the whole village or community on some happy occasion or on death of some elder or any such occasion which requires the consent of all, the decision is taken by all. Like other communities, Yādavas also have their caste *panchayats* or councils. No one can feast the

48. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

49. *Bhāg.* X, 19,16, III, 2,29.

50. *Ibid.* X, 35, 14-15.

51. Dikshitar, V.R.R., 'Krishna in Early Tamil Literature', *Indian Culture*, IV, 1937-38, p. 268.

52. *Mullaipattu*, II, 10-21, Vide Dikshitar, *ibid.*

53. *The Abhiras*, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

whole village or other villages without the expressed consent and permission of the *panchayat*. If one dares to do so nobody would attend the feast, and if anybody helps or associates with such person he or his family would be boycotted by the whole village. Therefore nobody can take decision individually in such matters. Vigilant *Panches* control the affairs of the village. Whereas in daily affairs Yādavas are free to go by their likes, they have to allude collective decisions in matters concerning all. All ceremonies come under this purview. *Panches* are not elected, some are either hereditary or self-projected. No educational qualification is required. Sometimes the village elders do not permit the educated one to interfere their discussion and decisions. Once the decision is taken, it becomes binding on all. Violator is punished with fine, boycott or even excommunicated in grave offences. He may be beaten with shoes or his face may be blackened. These have a strong effect on all and keep the entire folk in discipline. Generally all matters concerning the violation of code of conduct and discipline are decided by the caste *panchayat*. Yādavas do not like to seek permission, participation or interference by any member of other castes, but sometimes members of other castes residing in the village may be allowed to sit as observers.

The *panchayat* has no fix time and venue of meeting. It may be held in day time or at night according to the convenience of the *Panches* and the members or according to the nature of offence. If it is harvesting or cropping seasons, *panchayat* may sit at night, otherwise day's time is preferred. Some scholars have termed these organisations as 'tribal' councils, but these are the products of the long historical traditions of the past which had been looking after the internal and external affairs of the caste. These organisations had always been recognised by the rulers of all castes and creeds, even up to British regime. The heads of these organisations were called *Chaudharies*, *Sarpanchs*, *Mukhia*, *Patel*, etc. These *panchayats* discuss cases pertaining to the breach of caste rules and regulations, and family feuds in respect of marriage, divorce, immorality, eating with prohibited castes, relation with other castes, and even murder, dacoity and cases pertaining to land and property. The *Panchayats* act as legislatures when they make or amend rules and regulations, act as executives when imply these rules and execute the decisions of the *panchayat* and act as judiciary while pronouncing decisions. There is no theory of separation of powers is applicable in these *panchayats*, but the *panchayat* may form smaller committees to investigate the cases or executing the judgements pronounced by the council or the caste assembly.

Though these village *panchayats* are autonomous and independent of outside control, yet there are bigger caste *panchayats* which control a specific area or number of villages, such as *Battisi* or of 32 villages, *Bāwani* (52), *Chaurāsi* (84), 320, 376, or any other specified number of village which come under the jurisdiction of the *panchayat* by mutual consent. These *panchayats* only sit when bigger issues are involved concerning inter or intra-caste interests. Sometimes caste barriers are set aside and all the castes are represented in these bodies where and when the consent and consideration of all was required. If to have a caste *panchayat* is a sign of tribal community, then all the castes should be branded as tribal, as all castes have their caste organisations and councils. It is a relic of past traditions and democratic set up of the people of this country. These caste *panchayats* had played significant role in matters concerning politics, economy, morality, discipline, etc. These organisations

diffused intra and inter caste feuds and disciplined their members when there was no central or local administrative authority to enforce law and order. As a convenient working hypothesis almost all contemporary rulers recognised the authority of these *panches* and *panchayats* and associated them for local administration as majority of people had never been in direct touch with the central authority. The state was only concerned with revenue collection, and it found it convenient and easier to collect it through the mediatries instead of directly. A small percentage of this collection was given to the person who collected it, and the state did not need to appoint its officials for this huge task. Later on, the collection of revenue was assigned to persons on hereditary basis, and the office became a matter of trust, prestige and of social status. These officials were called, *Mukkadams*, *Alambardars* or *Lambardars* or *Nambardars*, *Patels*, *Desai*, etc. They could be appointed only from agriculturist castes. Yādavas held this post in their villages where they were the masters of the lands. Above this post was the office of *Zailadar*, who got about one percent of the total revenue collected in the *Zaila* (or a group of villages). His office was an important one and the revenue officer attached importance to the office. These officials helped the Government to keep law and order and collection of revenue. Generally these *Lambardars* and *Zailadars* constituted the *Panchayat* of the village, area or zone, as the case may be. Ladies were rarely allowed to take part in the proceedings and sittings of the *Panchayat*. They were allowed occasionally only in matters relating to them directly. The *panches* examined all the witnesses and cross questioned them. All who seated there acted as jurors. Judgements could be pronounced then and there in open. But the proceedings could be held in camera in delicate matters and the village elders decided so. Expert opinion of a religious leader could be obtained in matters relating to such matters. The *Panches* sat on a high platform on a mat or carpet, whereas the complainant and the accused are not allowed to sit on the mat with the fellow members of the caste. During hearings anybody should speak standing and could do so only with the permission of the chairman or the person conducting and presiding the proceedings. Though sometimes it ended in bitter quarrels, yet the *panchayat* asserted its position and controlled the situation. These presented a similar scene available in our state legislative assemblies. But with the formation of official *panchayats* in the villages, the caste *panchayats* are on wane, yet not extinct.

The venue of the *panchayat* is generally a fixed place and is much revered. It is called *chaupal* or *Parasa*, *Phalasā* or the assembly place. Women never enter the area or the building. People bow their head if they happen to pass through in front of it. Mothers teach their children to bow their head before the place. This is regarded a sacrosanct place by the Yādavas. (Compare the sanctity of the legislatures of today.) Yādavas believed that no one tell a lie in the *panchayat* assembled in *chaupal* or assembly hall, if he did so calamity would strike him, his family and property. Before saying something in complaint or defence, every one had to take an oath prescribed by the *panchayat*. Thus these institutions worked like modern judicial courts which prescribe a compulsory oath for the complaint defendant or witness. The Yādavas have preserved the system from the hoary past.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

SUB-CASTES (GOTRAS)

In the sixth act of the play, *Mṛcchakaṭika*, there is an interesting scene of the escapade of Āryaka, who has broken out of the prison of king Pālaka, in a covered cart, intended to carry Vasantasenā to her lover, Cārudatta. Two royal guards Candanaka and Viraka apprehend the cart and the former peeps into it. But Āryaka entreats him to spare his life. The first guard reports to the other guard that he had seen into the cart and found Vasantasenā in it. But, while saying so, he first utters the masculine term of address *ajja*, and then corrects himself by speaking the feminine term *ajjaā*. This creates a doubt in the mind of the other guard. Therefore the former states that such mistakes of gender could easily creep in the speech of the southerners. In that continuation he remarks that one used to the language of foreigners (*mleccha*), was apt to commit such errors of gender. He gives a long list of tribes which contains some very strange and obscure names not known from other sources.¹ Strangely some of them are Yādava-Ābhīras, e.g., *Khaḍovilaya* or *Khaḍoliya*, *Kaṇṇāḍa* or *Kaṇauḍa*, *Kharakhāṇa* or *Kharasāṇa*, Chola, etc. Khadoliya and Kharasāṇa are important *gotras* in the vicinity of Rewari, the heart land of Ahirawāla in Haryana.

The sub-castes (*gotras*) of the Yādava-Ābhīras or Ahirs are either after the names of some ancestors, e.g., Jādam a was the son of Kṣīra or Khīra, the great-grandson of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, whose progeny became famous as Jādama. Some are based on place names, as Dohāna, who resided on the banks of river Dohāna which flows in Āhirwāla, also a village of the same name; Nūnivāla, who belonged to village Nūni near Narnaul. People of all castes are Nūnivāla in this village and in other villages who migrated from this village and settled elsewhere, for instance, the inhabitants of Sirhol, who trace their origin from Nūni are Nūnivāla, whether they are Ahirs, Brahmans or others. Yādavas of Kaṇṇāḍa or Kāṇauḍa *gotra* settled the Kanaūḍa city, now known as Mahendergarh after the name of Maharaja Mahender Singh, the Bhatti (Yādava) king of Patiala, who ruled this area. Narnaul was ancient Nāranālā founded by the Yādavas who might had migrated from Nāranālā of Madhya Pradesh or vice-versa. *Nāra* means water and *Nālā* means a rivulet, which flows by the side

1. *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Act VI, p. 348:

चन्द्रनक-अरे! को अप्पच्चयो तुह? वचं दक्खिणत्ता अव्वत्तभासिनो । खस-खत्ति-खड्ढोविलय
-कण्णाड-कण्णप्पावरण-दविड-चीण-चोल-बब्बर - खेरखाण - मुखमधुष्मट - पड्ढाणं मिलिच्छजादीणं अणेअ - देस
- भासा भिण्णा जहेवटं मन्तआम - दट्ठो दिट्ठा वा, अज्जो अज्जआ वा।

of the town. Similarly Nāga, Sānpa, Kāṭha, Mōyaṇa or Māyaṇa, etc. are old septes of Yādavas famous in history. Kāṭha is the Kathol of the Greek writers. Mōyaṇa or Māyaṇa is Viṣṇu of the Tamils. The names of the Ahir villages in North proves an affinity with the Yādavas of south, particularly with Tamil language, literature and culture.

Some of the Yādava *gotras*, such as, Chauhan, Solanki, Parihar, Rathi, Śisodia, Gohil, Tanwar, Mohil, etc., do not prove the influx of Rajputs into Yādavas. These Yādavas lived either in the kingdoms or villages of the above named sub-castes of Rājputs and the former adopted the sub-castes of the latter. *Gotra* or sub-caste is never the sign of caste. Chauhans are Jats, Khaṭiks, barbers, sweepers, etc., in addition to Rajputs. There is no bar to any caste adopting any sub-caste or *gotra*. Generally the menial castes of yesteryears adopted the *gotra* of their lords. Sometimes even this change takes place among the same caste when one sect is in utter minority. But the Ahirs or Yādavas had been particular about their caste consciousness, except in Panjab where they became Jats where they were known as Rajputs. That is why people in Panjab are quite unaware of the Yādavas or Ahirs, and if some know they take them to be scheduled caste as many chamars write 'Ahir' with their names. Some of the Yādava *gotras* are after the name of their Brahman-priests, such as, Kashyapa, Mudgala, Bhardwaj, Attri, etc. Others are in common with Jats and Gujars.

Division and Subcastes or Surnames of the Yādavas

Generally speaking, the Yādavas form three distinct divisions, viz., Yaduvansi, Gvālavansi and Nandavansi. The Yaduvansi or Jaduvansi claim to be descended from the Yādavas, who form the Yādu and Jādon or Jādam-Bhatti clans of Rajputs. They are the main branches called after their ancestor Yadu, son of famous king Yayāti. The Nandavansi consider their first ancestor to have been Nanda, the foster-father of Śrī Kṛṣṇa; while the name of the Gvālavansi is simply Goāla or Gauli, a milkman, a cowherd, a common synonym for the caste. The first category of Yādavas, perhaps, were those who were rulers, landlords or cultivators, the second category of Yādavas, or Nandavansis were, perhaps, who owned a big number of cows and indulged in trade and commerce. They employed their own caste men as menials to look after their cows and commerce, and these were designated cowherds, who looked after the cows in and outside the house, milked it, sold the milk, etc.

No clear cut boundary line on territorial basis can be drawn showing the abode of these three categories of the Yādavas as they always lived together, but the distinction has been maintained throughout between these three divisions and marital relation was not allowed till recently. The All India Yādava Mahāsabhā has played a vital role to bring the Yādavas in one fold and to remove the distinction and division. Now almost all *Vansis* and Ahirs call themselves Yādavas. The Yaduvansis were, generally, found chiefly in Upper Doab and West of the Yamuna river and the Gvālavansis found in the Lower Doab and districts

adjoining Varanasi.² Others were called or considered themselves Nandivansis or Āhirs. Presently the Yādavas are known by these names in different states of India:³

Andhra Pradesh : Golla, Dhanagar, Iddayar, Konar, Kurba, Kurwa, Yādava, Yerragella (some of them also suffix Rao, Reddi, Rediaya, Swami, etc. with their names) . Sub-castes or *gotras* or branches: Phallā, Pinyanti, Prakṛti, Duvi, Sarasiddhi, Sāñānoyanā, Nami, Dokra, Priyatala, Maniyālā, Romalā, Bori, Tumadullā, Prasdüllā, Kharoḍa, Kōna and Guntu Boyanā.

Assam: Tripura, Sikkim, Manipur, Meghalaya, Arunachal, etc. Gawala, Ghosh, Goal, Goala, Gop, Gowala, Āhir, Yādava, Mandala, Pāla,

Andaman & Nicobar Islands : Yādava, Rolala, Kollubhatti, Konar,

Bihar: Yādava, Gwala, Āhir, Gopu, Sadagopa, Ghosi. They are also called Ghosi, Nandagopa, Saphasi, Goyaria, Goyalas, Saphal gop. Their sub-castes are : Naomulia or Majraut, Saumulia or Kishnaut and Gorī⁴ or Dahīraj and Dahiaras. A prominent group of Yādavas call themselves Mandal (though Mandals are in every caste in Bihar and Bengal), Bhagat, Mehto, Gurmaita (Gurumehta), Khirahari, Marika, Bhandari, Māñjhi, Lodavayan, Rai, Rawat, Nandania.

Their endogamous groups have been named on a territorial basis, e.g., Machha from Machhu river near Morvi, Prathalia living in Vagad, Boricha Sorathia from Sorath, and Chorida from Chorad in Runn.⁵ There are other subdivisions also, as, Pawar, Śolanki, Rathor, Jāḍejā, etc. Jāḍejās and Chuḍasamas had been the rulers of Gujarat and its different parts till independence, so they called themselves Yādavas and Rajputs. Now they form a different sect, but many of them are anxious to return to the main fold of the Yādavas.

A brief description of Jāḍejās and Chuḍa-samas is as under:⁶

JĀḌEJĀS are the most numerous and at the same time the most powerful Rajput clan in Gujarat. Besides Kacch, they own nearly one-third of Kathiavada, the two chiefships of Santalpur and Chādchat in the Palanpur Agency, and a small estate in the Pāṇḍu Mehvās in the Rewa Kantha. In Kāthiavada, besides minor offshoots the important states are Nava-nagar, Gondal, Morvi, Dhrol, Rajkot, and Malia which were founded between A.D. 1540 and A.D. 1720. The Jāḍejās are the leading Hindu representatives of the tribe of Śammā Rajputs belong to the great Yādav stock whose pedigree goes back to Sāmb, son of Krishna, but there seems little reason to doubt that they are among the latest immigrant Turks who preceded the Arab conquest of Sindh in A.D. 713. Under the Sumra rulers of Sindh (A.D. 1053-1351), the Sammās probably maintained a half-independent position in the south of Sindh and seem at several times between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries to have moved south to Kacch to avoid Sumra tyranny. About A.D. 1351 the Sammās overthrew the Sumras, and, with their headquarters at Samai near Thatha, became the rulers of south Sindh.

2. Bhattacharya, J.N., *Hindu Castes and Sects*, Calcutta, 1896, p. 297.

3. On the basis of list given in *The Mandal Commission Report* and personal survey by the author.

4. The name Gorīa or Goreya in Punjab and Haryana shows the connection of Āhirs with these settlements. They are also in Gujarat.

5. *The Abhiras*, op. cit., p. 84.

6. *Hindu Castes and Tribes of Gujarat*, Ed. James M. Camphell, (Reprint 1986), Gurgaon, Vol. I, pp. 125, 126.

During the spread of Muhammadan power, the Sammās, before the close of the fourteenth century, had adopted Islam and since their conversion, though it is still borne by several large pastoral tribes, the name Samma is less known than Sameja and Jāḍejā, the Hindu branches of the tribe. According to the latest accounts, the name Jāḍejā was taken by the Kacch branch about A.D. 1350, when they called in as their chief Lākha, a son of Jām Jāḍā of Thatha. From Kacch they entered Kathiavada. It is said that about A.D. 1313, Bahmani Samma led a band as far as Ghumbli in the Barda hills, then the capital of the Jethvas and destroyed it, but did not gain a permanent footing in the country. Santalpur and Chādchat were taken by Rāva Khengārji of Kacch (A.D. 1548-1586) from Sarkhāji the son of Lunāji Vāghela.

CHUDASAMAS are an offshoot of the Samma tribe. They appear to have established themselves in Kacch during the early tenth century. From Kaccha they pushed on to Kathiavada and settled at Vanthali about nine miles South-West of Junagadh from which they held Gimar until in A.D. 1472, Junagadh was taken by Mahmudshah Begda of Ahmedabad and the last of the local rulers, Rā Mandlik, surrendered to the conqueror and forsook the faith of his fathers. Sorath became Muslim territory and on his death Rā Mandlik was raised to the rank of a saint under the title of Khan Jehan. The Chuḍasama are now found in Dholera as *garāsias* or upper land-holders. As Yādavas and descendants of Śrī kṛṣṇa they claim superiority over all other Gujarat Rajputs, and though only a few of them are left, the daughters of the clan are held to be fit brides even for ruling houses.

Of the total 31,075 miles of territory of Rajput Chiefships (1891), the Jāḍejās held 13,391, the people numbering 1,179, 129, and the revenue being Rs. 74,53,622; whereas the total figures being 3,090, 564 and Rs. 1, 62, 27, 514, respectively.

The surnames (*gotras*) of the Ahirs of Gujarat are : Āhālia, Baradia, Bhadarka, Bhādia, Bhenda, Bhiliha, Bhorla, Bhuthar, Chavada, Chetaria, Chhuchar, Chuḍasama Gagia, Gogham, Gohel, Gorla, Joga, Kachhot, Kāmālia, Kunāra, Khava, Khunti, Nandānia, Pīdaria, Pithia, Ravaliya, Sanjva, Śisothia, Vādhia, Vasra and Vijava.

Chandigarh, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan, Haryana (Āhirāṇā-Hirāṇā-Hariyāṇā-Haryana): Ahir, Gwālā, Gowālā, Rāo, Yādava.

Gotras (Subcastes): Abhorla, Ānsāla, Āphariā, Attri.

Bacchasa (Vatsa), Baḍagara, Badhavaḍiā, Bhagavaḍiā, Bāghelā, Bālaroḍiā, Bālavāna, Bambhoriā, Bāna, Banārasi, Bhākalona, Bhālakiyā, Bhāmasarā, Bhambhoriā, Bhāṇḍoriā, Bhāngard, Bhānbharia or Mamkharia, Bhāṭoṭia or Bāṭhoṭhia, Bichawaliā.

Chāḍaliyā, Charakhiya, Chauhan, Chaurā, Chāvaḍa, Chābaḍiā, Chikaṇā, Chitosiyā, Dādariā, Dadaroliā, Dāgara, Dhaḍāna, Dahamivāla, Dahiya, Dāmaria, Dāntarata, Dāyamā, Deroliā, Deśavāla, Dhagaḍa, Dhunḍaḍiā, Dhūndhalā, Diyā, Dohāna, Dusādha.

Gadhojia, Gahagaḍa or Gogaḍha, Ganganiya, Gahalā, Gharavāla, Giḍaḍa or Gṛdha, Ghomalā, Godharia, Gomi, Gothavāla or Gathavālā, Guṇavāla, Gurāha, Goyalā.

Hāḍā, Haḍakavāla, Harabalā, Hevāla, Hudinavālā, Huraḍa, Jādama (Jādava, Jādaon, Jadhava, Jadu, also Jājama in vogue), Jaḍavāla, Janjaḍia, Jhādata, Jhāḍodiya, Jhagaḍolia, Jhabaravāla.

Kādiyāna or Kadyāna, Kakarolia, Kalhāḍa, Kalāliyā, Kalagāniā, Kalawariā, Kālēṭhā, Kaninavāla, Kānkasa, Kanwarasāṇa, Karirā, Kasyapa, Kāṭha, Kesavāla, Khadonaba, Khaḍuliā, Khainṭā, Khairāniā, Khāmṭhiya, Khaḷiyā, Khātodiā, Kharasāṇa, Kharabhariā, Khēravāla, Khoḍia, Khoḍamiyā, Kholā, Khoṣya, Kondaliyā, Konḍara, Kosaliya, Khulaḍotiya.

Lāmlīā, Ledhaḍiyā, Lohachava or Lochava, Lohāniā, Lohaṭa.

Machhelia, Mahākhariā or Manbhariyā or Bhankhariā, Mahalā or Mailā, Mahāvala, Makaḍā, Māṇḍhaiyā, Mangariā, Māṇṭhia, Moriyā, Māyaṇa or Moyāṇa, Mehatā, Motaliā, Motāṇa, Mohila, Mudgala, Muṇḍāhāḍiyā.

Nadhalā, Nāga, Nahāḍiyā, Naharakavāla, Nāndhiyā, Naṇiyāṇa, Nikoma, Nigāṇid, Nimbivāla, Nirvāṇa, Nūnivāla, Pacheriā, Padhāniā or Pathaniā, Pāluliā, Panihāra, or Parihāra Pātharāṇa, Phāṭaka (Pāthaka), Puhāniā.

Rabadā, Rāḍiā, Rohada, Sahajavāṇa, Śāhalaḍiya, Sāmloḍhiā, Sālbeḍiā, Sānpa, Sāntoria, Sehalangiyā, Sekāvālu, Śekhāvaḍa, Śigaḍiā, Simalavāla, Sisodiyā, Sisothiā, Solanki, Śulatanīā, Śunāriān.

Tāṇṭalā, Thākārāṇ or Thukaral, Tanwar, Talākiya, Thoṭhavāla, Toharakiā, Tokasa, Tonḍaka or Tuṇḍaka or Tundikeru, Vazāda.

Also Dhingarā, Gāliā, Junejā, etc. in Punjab.

Karnataka: Golla, Gouli, Gopal, Yādava, Asthana Golla, Yādava, Adavi Golla, Gopal, Gopali, Hanabaru, Krishan Golla, Anubaru, Atanaharu, Hanbar, Hanabar, Dudhigola, Konnar, Gauda (they are also Brahmanas). The Gollars of Mysore style themselves as Yadukula or Krishnakula and profess that they belong to the same caste as Kṛṣṇa.⁷ The endogamous groups of the Kannada Gollas are as follows: Hal, Hav, Kad, Kampe and Uz Golla. These groups have inter connections between themselves. In Belgaum district the Gollas have six endogamous groups namely the Advī or Telugu, Golla, Hanam Golla, Kishnaut Golla, Kenguri Golla, Paknak Golla and Sastra Golla. In Bijapur the exogamous groups of the Gollas are : More, Pavar, Shinde and Yādav or Jadhav.

Traditions show the dominance of the Ahirs is clearly discernible in Madhya Pradesh and Khandesh. The village folk still recapitulate that the Ahirs ruled over the land before the Gonds.⁸ The general authenticity of the traditions is attested by the name of the districts as Ahirwara (abode of Ahirs) which reminds of their previous glory.⁹ Firishta mentions a tradition that Asirgarh was found by Āsā, an Ahir chief in the beginning of the 15th century A.D. But legend takes the fort to be as old as the *Mahābhārata*. Historically, the earliest record is the Asirgarh seal of the Moukhari king Sarva Varman, who ruled around A.D. 559. Etymologically, Firishta derives the name of the fort from Āsā-Ahir, the famous landlord of Asirgarh who was slaughtered by Malik Faruqi, a noble of Alauddin Khilji's court, to seize the fort. Chandbardai, the court poet and minister of the Chauhan king, Prithvi Raj, mentions the Rajput chief of Asir as fighting shoulder to shoulder with him to defeat Shabaduddin

7. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, II, Madras, 1909, p. 284.

8. Gustav Oppert, *Op.cit.*, p. 443.

9. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, II, pp. 338, 409.

Ghori in A.D. 1191. He mentions the name Asir repeatedly, and this chief belonged to the Asi-Haihaya (Yādava) dynasty which ruled the Narmada Valley from Maheswar.

The history of Asirgarh is full of tales of treachery and heroism, self-sacrifice and degeneration, of plenty and destitution. On the pretext of housing his family in Asirgarh, to shelter them from his enemies, Malik Faruqi misused the hospitality of Āsā Ahir and sent in dolis with soldiers who killed him and his family members mercilessly. During Āsā Āhir's time, Asirgarh was the granary of Khandesh and Gondwana. During the severe famine which afflicted Khandesh at that time, Āsā Āhir distributed food and clothing to the poor, the aged and the decrepit from Asirgarh. The process of devastation of Asirgarh was completed by reckless plunder, arson and vandalism committed by the warring Maratha bands of the Scindias and Holkars and by predatory tribes like Bhils, Korkus and Pindaris.

The fort of Asirgarh falls in the category of Parvat-Durg or hill-fort of Kautilya, and geologically it is classified as the 'Horst' type, a rock scarp shooting straight up from the ground. It is one of the most invincible of its kind. The fort has only two points of access defended by ramparts, one of which is a narrow ascent of stone steps going through five gateways to the fort. The gateways have machicolations for pouring hot water or oil over the enemy and at various points, massive wooden doors studded with iron spikes, are present.

It is said that Āsā Āhir's ancestors had held land here for seven hundred years, and he had 10,000 cattle, 20,000 sheep and 1000 mares, with 2000 followers; but was still known to the people, to whom his benevolence had endeared him, by the simple name of Āsā. Some scholars are of the opinion that this derivation of Asirgarh is clearly erroneous, as it was known as Asir or Asirgarh.¹⁰ But Grant refutes this. Firishta, who records it, has usually a good credit, and more probably the real existence of a line of Ahir chieftains in the Tapti valley suggested a convenient ethnology for the fortress.

Other traditions of the past domination of this caste remains in the Central India. Deogarh on the Chhindwara plateau was, according to the legend, the last seat of Gadi (Yādava) power prior to its subversion by the Gonds in the sixteenth century. Jātba, the founder of the Deogarh Gond dynasty, is said to have entered the services of the Gaoli rulers. Mansur and Gansur, and subsequently with the aid of the goddess Devi to have slain them and usurped their kingdom. But a Gaoli (Yādava) chief still retained possession of the fort of Narnāla for a few years longer, when he also was slain by Mohammadans. Similarly the fort of Gwaligarh on the southern crest of the Satpuras is said to be named after a Gaoli chief who founded it. The Sagar traditions bring down the Gaoli supremacy to a much later date, as the tracts of Etāwa and Khurai are held to have been governed by their chieftains till the close of the seventeenth century.¹¹

Certain dialects called after the Ābhīras or Ahirs still remain. One, known as Ahirwati, is spoken in the southern part of Haryana—in the districts of Mahender Garh, Rewari and Gurgaon, and northern parts of Rajasthan—in Alwar, Sikar, Jaipur and Jhunjhunu districts.

10. *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 1871, Introduction.

11. Russell & Hira Lal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 20.

The Mālavi dialect of Rajasthani is also known as Ahiri; and that curious form of Gujarati, which is half a Bhil dialect, and is generally known as Khāndeśī, also bears the names of Ahirani.¹² The Ahirs of Gujarat still retain a dialect of their own and this proves that this and other Ahir dialects are the remains of the district Ābhīra language. It may fairly be concluded that the Ābhīras were widely spread over India and dominated considerable tracts of country.

Madhya Pradesh: Ahir, Gvala, Goala, Gwal, Kansa, Thakur, Jadav, Yādav, Gop, Rawat, Rao, Ghosi, Gahra, etc. Ghosis have been divided between two groups, namely *Havelia* living in villages and *Birchhiya* who are forest dwellers.¹³ The Kaonra Ahirs of Mandla and the Kamarias of Jabalpur are considered to belong to the Nandavansi group, other subcastes in the northern districts are the Jijhotia, who take their name from Jijhoti, the classical term for Bundelkhand; the Bharotia; and the Narwaria from Narwar. The Rāwats of Chhattisgarh are divided into the Jhadia, Kosaria and Kanaujia groups of these Jhadia or 'Jungle' and Kosaria from Kosala, the ancient name of Chhattisgarh country, are the oldest settlers.¹⁴

The Dauwa, Dhauva or Dhā Bhāi (wet-nurse Ahirs) are said to be descended from the illegitimate offspring of Bundela Rājput fathers by Ahir mothers who were employed in this capacity in the families.¹⁵

The ruling families of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh kept the Yādava mothers as wet-nurses. They fed the new-born princes with their breast-milk. The children of such mothers stood in the relation of foster-brothers to the Rājputs, whom their mothers had nursed. The giving of milk, in accordance with the common primitive belief in the virtue attaching to an action in itself, was held to constitute a relation of quasi-maternity between the nurse and infant, and hence of fraternity between her own children and her foster children. The formers were called *Dhai-bhais* or foster-brothers by the Rājputs, they were often given permanent grants of land and employed on confidential missions, as for the arrangement of marriages.¹⁶ The minister of a Raja of Karauli was his foster-father, the husband of his wet-nurse. Similarly the *Dhā-bhai* of the Raja of Bundi, commandant of the fortress of Tanagarh, was, like all his class, devotion personified.¹⁷ A parallel instance of the foster-brothers of Conachar or Hector is in *The Fair Maid of Perth*. Thus the position of foster-brother of a Rājput was an honourable one.

Following are the subcastes (*gotras*) of the Yādavas in Madhya Pradesh¹⁸:—

Nakerā, Nakula, Nāga, Nāyan, Nūnahā, Sedur, Sonavāni, Sarapa, Saravariha, Sāntaḍa, Sona Khenchā, Chhaddar, Chhachan, Sashānga, Chaudhary, Chandā, Chāndhariya, Besan, Baghava (Baghamār), Barchha, Besara, Banachariā, Bagar, Bagarail, Bhainsā, Bhonḍi, Bharashankar, Bhan Dongri, Bhusari, Gurabheliā, Garuḍa, Ghūnsa, Gualavansi (Ghosi), Mangar, Manakar, Māgrākah, Mathavariha, Pradhan, Pongrā, Pāhari, Pachakoḍi, Patelā,

12. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX, part II, p. 50.

13. Russell and Hira Lal, *op.cit.*, pp. 225-26, III, pp. 34-35.

14. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 24-25.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Tod, Rajasthan, *op.cit.*, p. 639.

18. Personal Survey by the author.

Pharasi, Phūlamatī, Pharahada, Phutenia, Tekan, Tāngā, Thakur, Rawat, Hīrābania, Hoḍi ogār, Handdagia, Hansa, Hansagaruḍa, Āmādāra, Ondār, Kalihari, Kāhali, Karayat, Karasāla, Kherām, Kukari Rawat, Khūnta Rawat, Khīra, Rawat-Rāvaṇa, Ramadullā, Ravaṇavansi, Ṭenka, Ḍhārā, Ḍongri, Dongre dilla, Jhonkā, Jhūrā, Sonakara, Dudhakenvara, Ganagoir, Jamarava, Dudhanāga, Loriya, etc.

Subcastes of Kannuajia Yādavas : Maḍaha, Kaṭhāri, Lohaṇia, Rautiya, Khoṛakara, Mehato, Patharrautiyā, Taṭiya bandhia, Uchchaditā Ṭheṭhavār, Uchchaditā Mehato, Ghu-takū, Khandahar, Kāshi, Kashyapa, Śansar Mehto, Dīdavar Mehato, Kashapa Rautia, Sabha Paravaria, Malhar Mehto, Sāḍhi Rautia, Domakharīhā, Audharia, Khandarautiā, Barahamār, Uraiḥā, Mahagoḍia, Kandahararautia, Amoritā, Bakula, Baragah, Khāṇḍā-Hathia, Chandāh, Nausāhā, Kumbharautia, Masuria, Bijula Pradhan, Channaha, Sonaha, Ratabandiha, Nanda Mahar, Hathia Baragah, Chakavai Rautia, Thaharadia Mehto, Uchchaha Rautia, Dularuha Baragaha, Sahipara Rautia, Raṇadiyar Mehato, Amahā, Sunasuniḥā, Pradhan, Bandela, Kalagiha Rautia, Nausāha Mehato, Gajaghummar (Rautia), Pitalahā, Bichhi, Paṇḍola, Dabakha Pandol, Uḍār, Patharchelia, Pothia Rautiā, etc.

Subcastes of Kosaria Yādavas : Besarā, Mangar, Sarpā, Bhamadāra, Baghela, Dongre, Badhawā, Besan, Chaudhary, Gurameliā, Sonavani, Dongri, Karasāl, Rawat, Bhondi, Thorāi, Amajāra (Mundri Chundri), Bhensā, Sendur, Chhachan, Jhonki, Kalihari, Chamālār, Chhauta, etc.

Kerala : Yādava (Idayan), Iruvan, Kolaya, Maniyani, Ayar, Nayar, Urlinayar, Konar, Pillai, Krishanavaha.

Goa : Yādava, Gwalli, Gwala, Ahir, Gop.

Tamilnadu and Pondicherry : Ethayar, Idayar, Konar, Udayar, Yādavan (Idayan) or Idaiyar, Vaduga Ayar, Vaduga Idaiyar, Golla, Mond Golla, Asthanthra Golla, Kone, Pillai, Manthi, Dāsa, Karayalan, Nambiar, Ambalam, Krishana Krishnavaha, Karambe, Dodava, Gopa, Yādava, Ahir, Kolaya, Mayar, Muniyan Eruman.

West Bengal : Ahir, Golla, Gopa, Sadagopa, Yādava, Mandala, Ghose, Gwar, Pāla, Dāsa, Mahto, Marika, Phatak, Gurumehta, Kapās, Bhagat, and most of the subcastes found in Bihar and Orissa.

Maharashtra : Ahir, Gwala, Yādava, Golla, Gawli, Jadhav, Panwar, Shinde, Bhalekar, Dhumal, Laṭake, Ghole, Dhage, Mahāḍik, Khedekar, Vazha, Nāṭe, Phanbale, Dābre, Miragal, Kāte, Kilaje, Taṭakara, Chīle, Dalāyā, Bāṇiyā, Jāngade.

Orissa : Pradhan, Gola, Golla, Gope, Sadagopa, Ahir, Gour, Gauḍa, Mekala Golla, Punnu Gholla, Yādava, Pāla, Bhutia, Rawat, Gurabhelia, Mahato, Gurumehatu, and many of the subcastes found in Madhya Pradesh, Bīhar and West Bengal.

Dadra and Nagar Haveli : Ahir, Bharvad, Yādava.

The Yādavas, Ahirs, Gopas or Ghose are called as Rao, Chaudhary, Patel, Saradar, Thakur, etc., all meaning the petty king or ruler. Their bards, menials and Brāhmaṇas call them 'Raja' or king even the former are poor peasants or labourers. When one Yādava meets another Yādava, he calls the other as 'Rao' and the other reciprocates in the same way. In north India more and more use of 'Yādava' and 'Rao' is conspicuously visible, but in south India it is not. When the Yādavas meet in a caste assembly they address 'Saradāra' to each

other. Those who are influential are designated as 'Thakur'. In Mādhy Pradesh they are called 'Rawat', a variation of 'Rao', and Patel. These indicate the old inheritance of the caste who were the rulers of this country.

Uttar Pradesh : Ahir, Ghosi, Gwala, Yaduvanshi, Yādava. There are 18 subcastes of Ahirs: Veṇuvanshi, Bhiragudi, Dauva (Dhauva), Dhanadhori, Gaddi, Gomala, Ghoḍachadhā, Ghosi, Gujar, Khunakhunia, Rajoria and Rawat.¹⁹ The endogamous groups: Lilar, Chōpar, Gaddi, Gujar, Padhan or Pradhan, and Lala. Besides these, there are local endogamous groups like Deswali, Kanaujia, Maghariya and Puraliya. The surnames of the Mohammedan Ghosis are : Baghela, Behua, Chaudhari, Gahlot, Gaur, Pathan, Rajput, Sayyid, Tomar and Turk.²⁰

The Nandavansi Ahirs are divided into 84 *gotras* in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, etc. Some of them are : Bhagat, Bilehnia, Barothi, Barausia, Dahima, Dirahor, Diswar, Dunar, Kishnaut, Kanaudha, Kamaria, Kor, Kharakhari, Jarawariya, Mujawar, Nirbāṇa, Nagowa, Gonda Pathak, Rawal, Samaraphalla, Tenguria.

In Khandesh the Ahirs have seven sections, of which Gvalavansi, Bharavathia, Dhindamvar Ghosi and Gujar are prominent.²¹ The exogamous subdivision of the Yādavas of Poona and Khandesh include : Baladarakhamvale, Bāñiā, Barodiye, Biloriya, Dhanoriye, Hajariye, Himavar, Patheriye, Katariye, Kookerliye, Moriye, Panwar and Phūlasunge.²² The endogamous groups of Yādavas of South are : Romavanśa, Gvalavanśa, Dhidamvar, Bharavathia, Ghosia, Bendis and Gujars, the last have perhaps been from Gujar caste.

Subcastes or *gotras* are common in many castes, e.g., Jats, Gujars, Rajputs, Brāhmaṇas, and even scheduled castes have the same *gotras*. Only those are Yādavas who claim to be Yādavas and have been accepted so by the Yādavas. Some time back the Jāṭavas (Chamars) of Rajasthan started writing 'Yādava' with their names and requested the All India Yādava Mahāsabhā to allow them to be admitted in the Yādava fold as claimed to be the Yādavas in hoary past and adopted low profession in bad days. The Mahāsabhā turned down their request and they were not admitted in the Yādava Caste. But the crossing over of some of the agriculturist and pastoral castes cannot be ruled out. As some of the Yādavas had become Rajputs, Jats, Gujars, Meos, Sikhs, etc., in the past, it could be quite possible for others to enter in this great caste. A group of Jat villages in the vicinity of Benaras are in process to become Yādava, as they are inter-marrying in Yādavas and accepting and adopting their customs and ways of life. Similarly, the Jadaon or Jadam Bhattis have become 'Rajputs' and have no connection or relation with 'other Yādavas' or 'Ahirs', but Jadaon or Jadam Rajputs of U.P. and Madhya Pradesh are keen to return to the main fold. The Jadam of Rajasthan and Haryana are, like other Yādava-Ahirs, in the mainfold.

19. Elliot, *op.cit.*, I, p. 4; Crooke, *op.cit.*, I, p. 53.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 419-20.

21. *Bombay Gazetteer* (Khandesh district), XII, p. 79.

22. *Survey of Bombay*, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

Khānps or branches of Bhati-Yādavas

1. Poona, 2. Lāḍa, 3. Khīra, 4. Mer, 5. Achangana, 6. Jaiswar, 7. Haradansot, 8. Pala,
9. Śerah, 10. Āwat, 11. Raolot, 12. Deravaria, 13. Dungarsinghot, 14. Netasinghot,
15. Sahasamalot, 16. Narayanadasot, 17. Durjavata, 18. Tejāmālot, 19. Abhairajol,
20. Ramasihot, 21. Prithirājot, 22. Dvarakadāsot, 23. Giradhardāsot, 24. Bihari dāsot,
25. Khetasinghot, 26. Dūdā, 27. Lūnakarnat Marotia, 28. Jaitasinghot, 29. Devidasota,
30. Thakurasot, 31. Mada, 32. Sātalōta, 33. Bhensadech, 34. Kelayacha, 35. Kumbha,
36. Parvata, 37. Raidhara, 38. Ika, 39. Keharot, 40. Tejasi, 41. Sādhār, 42. Goyālade,
43. Śāvantasi, 44. Apiyā, 45. Karnot, 46. Dhanarajot, 47. Kishanavat, 48. Barsing,
49. Khīma, 50. Kelaṇa, 51. Jesa, 52. Rūpasinghot, 53. Soma, 54. Arjanot, 55. hamīrot,
56. Gogāi, 57. Bānkātā, 58. Hamir, 59. Kītā, 60. Sītā, 61. Ūnaḍa, 62. Kanaḍa, 63. Chacha-
- kadevot, 64. Raṇadhīrot, 65. Luṇarao, 66. Charaḍa, 67. Pūgalia, 68. Mumaji, 69. Bhadaka-
- mal 70. Sihaḍa, 71. Jayachand, 72. Jasod, 73. Mahājal, 74. Salūṇa, 75. Dāḍhol, 76. Sinkha,
77. Mokala, 78. Palasia, 79. Bāndar, 80. Bhinyā, 81. Mangalia, 82. Haṭa, 83. Dodā,
84. Rakaḍa, 85. Pawāsaṇā, 86. Ghobā, 87. Jindā, 88. Mūlapasāva, 89. Inadhā, 90. Pēhu,
91. Śiharao, 92. Lohā, 93. Budha, 94. Poḍa, 95. Chhenā, 96. Ghotaka, 97. Gahaḍa,
98. Jaitunga, 99. Chāndak, 100. Ḍāgā, 101. Dūla, 102. Rakhecha, 103. Makad, 104. Ālakā,
105. Khapharia, 106. Yahim, 107. Chaṇhaḍa, 108. Uterao, 109. Umechaḍā, 110. Kularia,
111. Dhukaḍa, 112. Khangar, 113. Chuhal, 114. Laḍavā, 115. Gogali, 116. Phūla,
117. Shivar, 118. Kevalā, 119. Mūndha, 120. Khīlahari or Khīrahari, 121. Atairao,
122. Abhoria, 123. Sāraṇa, 124. Jeha, 125. Ladhaḍa, 126. Mahapā, 127. Janjha.

Symbols and Traditions of Bhatīs

1. *Vamśa* — Chander, 2. *Kula* — Yadu or Yādava, 3. *Kuladeva* — Lakṣmināth,
4. *Kuladevi* — Yogeshari Sāngia, 5. *Bhairav* — Gorā, 6. *Ganesh* — Vikatunḍa or Vakratunḍa,
7. *Veda* — Yajurveda, 8. *Śākhā* — Vājasaneyi, 9. *Sūtra* — Pāraskara Gṛha Sūtra, 10. *Gotra*
- Atri, 11. *Pravara* — Atri, Ātreya, Śatāpata, 12. *Dhvaja* (flag) — Pīla, Bhagavān (Yellow,
- Saffron), 13. *Chhatra* (Umbrella), Meghāḍambara, 14. *Purohit* — Puṣkarnā, 15. *Nadi* (River)
- Yamunā, Gomati, 16. *Nakkārā* (drum) — Aganajot, 17. *Dhola* (Small drum) — Bhanvara,
18. *Tree* — Pipala, Kadamba, 19. *Guru* (Mentor) — Durvasa, Ratan Nath, 20. *Dhoti* —
- Pitambari, 21. *Kanṭhi* (String of small beads) — Vaiṣṇavi, 22. *Darśan* (Sight, view) —
- Nāthamudra, 23. *Rāga* (melody, tune) — Māḍa, 24. *Durga* (fort) — Jaisalmer, 25. *Māṅgāṇi*
- Yāra (Drum beater) — Ḍagā, 26. *Pilapāta* (Chāraṇa) — Ratanu, 27. *Puri* — Dvaraka,
28. *Vaḍava* — Bansabelia, 29. *Gangaghāta* — Sauram, 30. *Pāṭa* (Place of throne or
- coronation) — Mathura, 31. *Nikas* (egress) — Beyond Ganga, 32. *Akhāra* (arena) — Tularo,
- Varāha, 33. *Pūjya paśu* (sacred animal) — Cow, wild boar, deer and sheep, 34. *Māla*
- (garland) — Vaijāyanti, 35. *Viruda* (eulogy) — Uttar Bhaḍa Kivaḍa (protectors of north),
- Chhatrālā Yādava (Yādavas of royal umbrella), 36. *Salutation* — Jai Śrī Kṛṣṇa (Victory to
- Sri Krishna), 37. *Gun* — *Bhūtāna*, 38. *Śikhā* (tuft of hair on the crown) — *Dakṣiṇā*,

39. Iṣṭadeva (deity) — Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and, 40. insignia of the state — *Śakuna Chiriyā* (omen bird) and hand with arrow between two deers. (From *Rūstradūta* weekly, 9-12-1984, p.6).

Bhatias: According to General Cunningham Bhātia or Bhattia comes from *bhat* a warrior (Ancient Geography, I.247). They are also said to be called either after Bhat one of the sons of Shalivāhan (Asiatic Researches, IX. 218), or Bhupat grandson of Sam (Tuhfatu-l-Kiram Elliot, I. 338). Bhātias with a strength of 23, 621 were found mostly in Kucch and Kāthiavada. They claim to be Bhāti Rajputs of the Yādava stock, who under the name of Bhāṭṭis or Bhātias were the ruling tribe in Jaisalmir in North Rajputana and who as Musalmān Bhatias were found in considerable number in the Lahore and Multan divisions of the Panjab, and to a less extent in the N.W. Provinces. In Sindh, where they were best known as the traders of Shikārpur, they were found over the whole province, and in Kacch chiefly in Ahdāsa and Pāvar, and in the towns of Māndvi, Mundra, and Anjār.

(The Bhātis and Jādejās are branches of the Yādavas. Gladwin's Ain-i-Akbari. II. 377).

According to Panjab accounts their earliest capital (B.C. 600) was at Gajnipur, supposed by General Cunningham to have been not far from the modern Rawalpindi. From this, he thinks, in the first century A.D. they were driven south-east before the Indo-Scythians. (Arch. Rep. II.22). According to him the Yādavas were led (A.D. 79) by the great Shalivahan and his son Risālu, the founder of Siālkot (Arch. Rep. II. 21). According to Wilford (Asiatic Researches, IX. 218, 222) some tribes of Bhāṭṭis strongly insist on their descent from Shalivahan and call themselves Vaishyas of Shalivahan, Shaka — Rāja — Vansas or Śaka Rāja Kumars, the offspring of Śaka or Shalivahan.

Tod mentions that in the eighth century the Yadu Bhāṭṭis were driven south of Satlej. But it would seem from the accounts of the third expedition (A. D. 1004) of Mahmud of Ghazni that there was still a strong Bhatia kingdom at Bhātīā or Bherah on the left bank of the Jhelam near the salt range. And it was probably by the later Musalmān invaders that the Bhātias were driven south in the desert and Sindh. In Sindh the Bhatias have sunk to be fishermen, and there they still continue to eat fish and drink spirits. Kacch Bhātias neither eat nor marry with Sindh Bhātias. The date of Bhātias' arrival in Kacch has not been traced. Probably most of them have settled in Kacch and Kāthiavāda since the establishment of Jādeja power (C. 1350). From Kacch and Kāthiavada they are said by degrees to have made their way south by land through Gujarat and by sea to Bombay. In north Gujarat they live chiefly in villages and in the south in towns. Their two main divisions, Halāis (from Halār in Kathiavāda) and Kacchis (from Kacch) eat together and intermarry. Bhātias are like Vānias divided into Visas and Dasās who eat together. But the Visas, while taking Dasā girls, rarely give Dasās their daughters in marriage. Besides *gotras* or family stocks, the Bhātias have eighty four *nukhs* which very nearly correspond to clan titles.

Andhar, Asar, Babla (of Thali), Babla (of Gātha), Boda Bibal, Bolāya, Bhudhariā, Chāmiya, Chhachhia, Dhaga Dhākkar, Dhadhal, Dhadhar, Deiya, Degechanda, Dutia, Farāsgāndhi, Gokalgāndhi, Gājaria, Gagal, Ghagha, Gurugulāb, Hariya, Jaba, Jia, Jiya, Jidhan, Jābāla, Jiyargāndhi, Jāgta, Kodhia, Koa, Kāndhia, Kājari, Kapur, Kartari, Kukad, Karargota, Khaira, Lakhavanta, Media, Mogia, Malan, Mochha, Mota, Mathura, Multani, Nayegāndhi, Nāguota, Nisāt, Panchlodia, Padamsi, Pālīja, Panchāl, Pramala, Potha,

Padhthagu, Paregāndhi, Pavār, Prema, Parājia, Panvār, Radia, Ramia, Rāja, Rika, Sapāt, Suraiya, Suāda, Saraki, Soni, Sofla, Sijavla, Sodhia, Thāvan, Thaba, Thiran, Thula, Tambad, Udesi, Vanoda, Vadhucha, Ved.

Some of the Yādavas broke away from its main fold and formed different septs or even castes. Daharias of Madhya Pradesh, for instances, are one such caste. They have been described as 'a caste of degraded Rajputs', by Russell and Hiralal,²³ found in Bilaspur and Raipur, and numbering about 2000 persons in the census of 1911. According to these authors²⁴ the Daharias were originally a clan of Haihaiya or Kalachuri Rajputs. Karan Daharia, son of famous Haihaiya king Gāngeya Deva, is still remembered as the builder of temples in Karnabela and Bilahari in Jabbalpur, and it is from him that the Daharia Rajputs take their name. The Haihaiya dynasty of Ratnapur were related to the Kalachuri kings of Tewar, and under them the ancestors of the Daharia Rajputs probably migrated from Jabbalpur into Chhattisgarh. But they themselves have forgotten their illustrious origin, and tell a different story to account for their name. They say that they came from Baghelkhand or Rewa, which may well be correct, as Rewa lies between Chhattisgarh and Jabbalpur, and a large colony of Kalachuri Rajputs may still be found about fifteen kilometres North-East of Rewa town. As they were the rulers of this region, so out of pride they treated their caste brothers scornfully who were ordinary people, and when the former lost their rule, they were not taken well in the main fold. They have become a caste.

Sept and Sub-sept: Within the caste Daharias²⁵ have exogamous groups or septs, several of which are named as Bais, Chandel, Baghel, Bundela, Mainpuri Chauhan, Parihār, Rathore and several others. Within the sept they have also subsepts, some of which are taken from the Brāhmaṇas, are Pārāśar, Bhārdwāj, Śāṇḍilya, while others are nicknames, as Kacharihal one who does not care about a beating, Atariha, Hiya and others. The division of septs and subsepts are very confused, and seem to indicate that at different times various foreign elements have been received into the community, including Rajputs of many different clans.

The Daharias, in theory at any rate, observe the same rules in regard to their women as Brāhmaṇas and Rajputs. Neither divorce nor the marriage of widows is permitted. The Daharias marry among themselves. They do not take wives from their own sept and subsept, but this is not adhered to; and in some cases the Daharias on account of paucity of their numbers and the difficulty of arranging matches, have been driven to permit the marriage of first cousins, which among proper Rajputs and Yādavas is forbidden.

The Daharias were formerly warriors in the service of Ratnapur kings, and many families still possess an old sword which they worship on the day of Dasahara. Their names usually end in 'Singh' or 'Lal'. They are agriculturists and in governmental services. They have good features and fair complexions, the traces of their royal blood being quite evident. Generally they eat the flesh of clean animals, but avoid to drink liquor, onions and tomatoes.

23. *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 453-54.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 454-56.

25. Their name is derived from Dāhar or Dāhal, the classical term for the Jabbalpur country at the period when it formed the dominion of the Haihaiya or Kalachuri kings of Tripur of Tewar near Jabbalpur.

Some Jats trace their origin from Yādava dynasty or caste, prominent among them are the following :

*Dāgar, Dagur or Dīngarār*²⁶: Jadeja and Yodubhān were two brothers. Jadeja ruled over Kathiavād. His descendents became Yādava Rajputs. His younger brother Yadubhan established his rule near the Śivalik hills, which was called 'Yadu ki Dang' (hill of Yadu), and his descendants became famous as Dāgā, Dāgur, Dingari and Dingarān. Presently Dagar is one of the famous *gotras* of Yādvas of Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh.

Dalāls claim to be the descendants of Dalla Bhattī Yādav. According to some historians, like Tod; Mān, Dalāl, Deśwal and Siwag or Śihag were the descendants of one father. Only Deswal and Śiwag *gotras* are in vogue in the Yādavas of western Uttar Pradesh. 'Śiwach' is also another form of Śiwag.²⁷ Mān, Dalal, Deswal and Sihag do not intermarry, Śiwach is not included in this fraternal group. *Balharas*²⁸ are the descendants of the Rāṣtrakūṭa Yādavas of ninth century, whom the Arab traveller Suleman have written Balharas (*Vallabharais*). Probably, Balhara Jats either were their subjects or the Yādavas turned Jats.

Kuṣāṇa : The writer of '*Jaṭ Kṣatriya Itihas*'²⁹ propounds a theory that after the Bharat war, a large number of Yādavas migrated to Central Asia by compulsion or by choice. As shown elsewhere in this book, the Yādavas are found in that region in C. sixteenth century B.C. According to Y.P. Shastri, these Yādavas called themselves as *Kṛṣṇavamśi* or those belonging to the dynasty of Kṛṣṇa, which became *Kiśan-Vamśi*. (Kiśana=Kṛṣṇa) and then *Kuṣānavamśi*. Their designation was (*Śāhi*) or (small) emperor, and their dynasty became famous as '*Śāhiya Vamśā*'. These Yādavas established their kingdom on the banks of Oxus river in the areas of Hinganu, Jagajartice, Oxus, etc., which came to be known as 'Kuśan'. They defeated the Śakas and compelled them to live their abode, and the latter came to India. Later on, Hinganu defeated Kuṣānas and forced them to leave that place, and the latter settled near Ballakh or Balkh. Then the Kuṣānas, after military preparations, attacked and occupied Parthia, Kabul, Kandhar, Kashmir and up to Jhelum. Jats and Gujars claim equally to be the descendants of these Kuṣānas. This topic requires further research.

Mahārājā Ranjit Singh, the famous ruler of Panjab, was a scion of Śālivahan, the famous Yādava king. His ancestors were, among others, Jaundhar, Sadhava, Sahasya, Lakhanpal, Pāri, Udairatha, Jāgi, Pātu, Ugar, Kīrti, Viru, Vadhyā and Bhāgamal. Kālujī, one of the scions of this dynasty, left his ancestral village '*Pindi Bhattian*' (hamlet of Bhattis) out of disgust and quarrel with his father and brothers. His son was Jodhaman, who was called *Yaduvamśi* or *Jaduvamśi*. As 'Jaṭ' was a synonym for rustic, brave, straight toward and ruling elite in those days, the descendants of these braves became famous as 'Jats'. Kaluji founded a village in the name of Śaśi' (*Chandra*, the ancestor of Yādavas) or some other ancestor, which came to be known as Śaśi, Sāśi or Sānsi.

26. Shastri, Y.P., *Jaṭ Kṣatriya Itihas*, Hardwar, 1943, p. 196.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 245, 255, 263.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

Similarly, a number of other Jat and Rajput clans claim to be the descendants of the Yādavas. Randhawa, among others being prominent. Randhawas are the scion of one famous Randhawa, one Bhatti. Yādava-Rajput, who migrated from Bikaner to Panjab and became owners of a large tract of agricultural land, other castes who inhabited the villages of Randhawas also became Randhawas, even they belonged to scheduled castes or back-ward castes.

CHAPTER TWENTY

THE CONTEMPORARY YĀDAVAS

Sometimes there had been a slogan of 'AJGAR' (Ahir, Jat, Gujar and Rajput) (Python), that these martial and agricultural castes who have many traits in common must unite together for all practical purposes, particularly for political gains. In 1987 in Haryana and in 1989 in North India Devi Lal, a Jat leader, former Chief Minister of Haryana and Deputy Prime Minister of India, gave this slogan and practically united these four castes in North India from Haryana to Bihar. As a result the Congress Party was badly defeated and lost power, Viśwanāth Pratap Singh became the Prime Minister, Śarad Yādava, Cabinet Minister, Mulayam Singh Yādav, the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, etc. The former Lok Dal and now the '*Janata Dal*' is called '*Yādava Dal*' in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh due to domination of this caste in this party. Though the Yādavas fought incessantly in the freedom struggle of the country yet they got practically nothing in the Congress rule. Only Bali Ram Bhagat (of Bihar) rose to be the Speaker of Lok Sabha and Foreign Minister, and Birender Singh (of Haryana), Minister of Cabinet. The latter became the Chief Minister of Haryana only with the help of Jats with Samyukta *Vidhayak Dal* (in opposition to the Congress Party) in 1967. Brahma Prakash became Cabinet Minister in the Cabinet of Charan Singh (1979), who presented himself as an elderly Yādava before the Yādavas of U.P. and Bihar who always followed him blindly. Ram Naresh Yādava, became the first Yādava Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh in 1977 for a short period with the support of Janata Party. Bindeswari Prashad Mandal (known as B.P. Mandal), an eminent Yādava of Bihar, became the ever-first Yādava to head a very important and historical Commission to go into enquiry and suggest the list and methods to ameliorate the social and educational conditions of the other backward castes in India—better known as the 'Reservation for these castes'. The Mandal Commission Report is a scholarly work which bears the testimony of the sagacity, political, social and historical awareness, and acumen of the author. He has done a yeoman's service to these castes in general, and to the Yādavas in particular.

Devaraj Urs, an eminent Yādava of Karnataka, was the Chief Minister of his state, and later on the President of the Indian National Congress. Chanderjit Yādava was the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress (1971-1976) when there used to be only one post, and later a member of the Union Ministry in 1976-77 period. D.P. Yādava, another stalwart of Bihar, Ramanand Yādava (Bihar) and Shyam Lal Yādava (U.P.). were the only beneficiaries in the Congress Party regime and were the members of the Union Ministry. Balaram

Singh Yādava was made the President of the U.P. Congress for a brief period in 1988-89. Ram Singh Yādava (Rajasthan) became only a Deputy Speaker of Rajasthan Assembly (1972-77) in the Congress Party rule, while Ram Singh Yādava of Haryana became the Speaker of Haryana Legislative Assembly (1977-82) in the rule of Janata Party. Ram Narain Singh Yādava became a Minister of Cabinet rank (1979-82) in the same party rule in Haryana. When the majority of the Janata Party registers switched over to the Congress Party in 1981, Dalip Singh Yādava became a minister in place of Ram Narain Singh Yādava. Again (in 1982-87) Ram Singh Yādava became a Cabinet Minister and Inderjit Singh Yādava was appointed a Deputy Minister in the Congress rule in Haryana. Thus in Haryana, though Yādavas are in minority (about 6% of the total population of Haryana), yet they are politically conscious and important. They are confined to Mahendergarh, Rewari, Gurgaon, Rohtak and Bhiwani districts only. There is much intra-caste rivalry among the politicians, still the masses use discretion and elect Yādavas as much as possible, but they do not hesitate to 'punish' them if they do not approve their way of working.

As noted earlier, the Arya Samaj played a significant role in politicization of Yādavas in Ahirwal (of then Panjab, and now Haryana). In the 1920s, the Hindu Mahāsabhā established its branch in Panjab and Rao Balbir Singh established *Bhagavadbhakti Ashrama* as a branch of Hindu Mahāsabhā in Rewari, and contested elections on the Hindu Mahāsabhā ticket (see Yādava, K.C., 1967-83). He was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly from Rewari. The Yādava leaders of the Zamindar Party, which included the four major cultivating castes of Panjab—Ahirs, Jats, Gujars and Rajputs (AJGR), were Rao Pohap Singh, Rao Mohar Singh and Rao Balbir Singh. There were two main factions among the Yādavas of Ahirwal—one led by Rao Balbir Singh and the other by Rao Pohap Singh, and when the latter was elected as an M.L.C. in 1933 on the Zamindar Party ticket, Rao Balbir Singh switched to the Hindu Mahāsabhā and was elected in 1937.

Perhaps the politics of opposition (to the Congress Party) suits them. In 1987, the Lok Dal nominated five Yādavas to contest the Assembly elections, out of which four emerged victorious and in place of the fifth, an independent Yādava won. Two of them Ram Narain Singh Yādava and Laxminarain Yādava became minister of cabinet, and a third one, Narvir Singh became the Chairman of the Haryana Housing Board (earlier he was made a Deputy Minister and Minister of State in 1990). Raghu Yādava resigned his seat from the Haryana Legislative Assembly, and Ajay Yādava was elected in the bye election in 1989 on the Congress Party symbol, while at the same time Birender Singh Rao was elected to the Lok Sabha on Janata Dal symbol. Earlier he left the Congress Party and his seat in the Lok Sabha and joined the Janata Dal. The nominees of the ruling parties in the Centre as well as in the state were defeated in Ahirwal. Perhaps history repeats itself and the Yādavas have not given up their attitude of defiance and opposition to the ruling parties.

It was for the first time that Birender Singh Yādava became the judge of the Panjab and Haryana High Court. Narender Singh Yādava, son of Gajraj Singh Yādava, a politician of eminence, became the judge of Patna High Court in 1982. Santosh Yādava, a young lady of 27 was ever first Yādava to be appointed a member of the Haryana Public Service Commission in Janata Dal rule in 1987. Another young Yādava was appointed a member of

the Subordinate Services Selection Board. Though it is alleged that Yādavas meet discrimination at the hands of the rulers in Haryana, yet they hold good positions in administrative, educational, technical and other higher services. P.S. Lamba and R.C. Rao are two I.A.S. officers, K.S. Yādava is Additional Excise and Taxation Commissioner, Haryana, and a score of H.C.S officer man a number of administrative posts in the state. They have achieved these distinctions by dint of their hard work, intelligence, sincerity, integrity and competition.

Yādavas' first choice is defence services and the preferential goal of educated Yādavas is to join as commissioned officers. A large number of them are in Army, Navy and Airforce. Major-General Shiv Dayal Singh Yādava (Retired) and M.L. Yādava (Lieut-General) are some of them. As described earlier they had brought laurels to the country in times of war and peace. One hundred and fourteen Yādava brave soldiers of 'C' company of 13th battalion of Kumaon Regiment sacrificed their life on Chusal which is unparallel in the history. The Ahir company, then a part of the Hyderabad Regiment won the battle at the Arakan front, Kanga, in 1945. Jagmal Singh of Rewari tehsil received the I.O.M.. (Indian Order of Merit) for bravery, and Major Umrao Singh of Kosali was the commander of a company (of the Hyderabad Regiment) in the North West Front in 1940. He destroyed the Kabaili troop, for he was awarded the Military Cross Medal. The other Yādava soldiers who had received awards before independence were: Subedar Chaju Ram (I.O.M. 2nd class), Subedar Budhram (I.O.M. 2nd class), Subedar Major Bhawani Singh (Indian Distinguished Service Medal and Mention of Despatch in 1920), Jamadar Bhairo Singh (Indian Distinguished Service in 1914), Subedar Major Surat Singh of Rewari Tehsil (I.O.M.).

Due to political reverses and upheavals the Yādavas had been suppressed throughout the history. They had to be on the move for most of the time, sometime due to weather calamities, sometime due to economic factors and sometime due to opposing the foreign invaders and rulers. Little time was left for education for their wards. Slowly and slowly education became a thing of past and the Yādavas quite illiterate. But history repeats itself. A new morning came and the intelligent, hardworking and efficient Yādavas took interest in education. In Haryana, for instance, they made commendable achievements in the field of education. Eminent educationists and scholars like K.C. Yādava, J.S. Yādava; T.P. Yādava, I.S. Yādava, J.N.S. Yādava; B.N. Yādava, Indira Yādava, Krishna Yādava, Ram Kumar Yādava, S.K. Yādava, M.S. Yādava, R.S. Yādava, to quote a few are having high positions in universities and colleges. Many of them, like K.C. Yādava, J.S. Yādava and J.N.S. Yādava, are prolific authors and eminent writers. Some of them have been to foreign universities for teaching and lecturing.

Yādavas Of Delhi

Some of the Yādavas came to settle in Delhi from near and far even in the Mughal days. They were either transporters or a few as serving personnel. They settled in the Chandni

Chowk and Pahari Dhiraj where they still live. After independence, Yādavas came in waves from U.P., Bihar, Rajasthan, Haryana, M.P., and other parts of the country in search of white collar jobs, labourers and menials. Many of them were employed in schools, colleges, banks, railway, bus services, police and armed forces, domestic services, etc. Some were contractors, businessmen, sweet meat-makers and transporters. In addition to them, Yādava politicians from different parts of the country came to Delhi after being elected to the Parliament. Some of them became proper residents of Delhi and joined the main Yādava stream. In rural areas there are many important villages of Yādavas: Samaipur Badali, Madipur, Bhalasava, Kankrola, Sikohpur, Radhala, Jwalaheri, Libaspur, Ahir Jokhari, Kapashera, etc.

The Yādavas of Delhi were fortunate to have the leadership of Chaudhary Brahm Prakash who was the first Yādava to be the Chief Minister of Delhi then a Part 'E' State. Chaudhary Deep Chand established a finance company which is being run by his son Satya Prakash and nephew Balwant Singh Yādava as a multi-million rupee company of builders of residential schemes. Chaudhary Deep Chand was the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Representative Conference of AIYMS held in Delhi in 1967. The conference, among others, was attended and addressed by Rao Birendra Singh, the then Chief Minister of Haryana, Daroga Prasad Rai (Yādava), ex-Minister of Bihar, Ch. Brahm Prakash, B.R. Bhagat (Yādava), the then Minister of State for Defence, Chandrajit Yādava, M.P., Rao Gajraj Singh, M.P., Rajkumari Sumitra Bai. MLA, Nagendra Prasad Yādava M.P., Jogeshwar Yādava, M.P., Banwarilal Yādava (Advocate), Allahabad, Ramanandan Sinha Yādava (Advocate), Bindeswari Prasad Yādava General Secretary of AIYMS and Rajit Singh, Editor of Yādava. Sardar Swaran Singh also spoke and paid warm tributes to the Yādava soldiers, who fought a heroic battle in Rezangla and who had laid down their lives for the country.

The Yādavas residing in Delhi region were more conscious than their brethren in other parts of the country. Needless to say, the need to organise the Yādavas in the region was first felt by the immigrants who were in high official positions. The older Ahir residents of Mohalla Ahiran (Pahari Dhiraj) and Hyderkuli (Chandni Chowk) did not feel the need for such an organisation, because they already had a well established community life and had made some progress in the field of education, employment and politics. It were the new immigrants who required identification. So they joined hands to establish an organisation, explicitly a cultural one, without any political affiliations, coming at the social and cultural development of the Yādava community. Consequently Yādava Sewak Samaj (YSS) was formed (registered in 1963), which provided a platform for the diverse Yādavas to come together. Ch. Brahm Prakash was one of the chief patrons of YSS from its very inception. The membership increased from about 100 in 1963 to 300 in 1965. The first office bearers were : Squadron Leader Surya Kumar Yādava (President), Captain Hamam Singh (Vice-President), Budh Singh Yādava (General Secretary), Shiv Lal Yādava (Joint Secretary) and Babu Ram Yādava (Treasurer).

In 1967, a Zonal branch of the AIYMS was established at Hyderkuli, and since then majority of Yādavas are associated with it. Funds were raised by the Yādavas of Delhi for

the establishment of the Rao Tula Ram Memorial College (on Rao Tula Ram Road, South Delhi) which was affiliated to Delhi University. But, at present, the College is closed and people are disheartened by this. Rao Birendra Singh is responsible for this. Important leaders of AIYMS are Mahender Singh Yādava, Net Ram, Harphool Singh, Kam Singh, Balwant Singh, Satya Prakash, Chandra Prakash, Sobha Ram Yādava (editor *Yādava Samsar*), S.R. Yādava (advocate), Bishan Singh, Dr. Jaswant Singh, Prof. Ram Rahul, Prof. Omkar Singh Yādava, Suman Yādava.

Yādavas In Tamilnadu

In South India, the Yādavas of Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh, were among the first to be organised. In Tamilnadu the Idaiyans and Konars in Trichi and Madurai made a name for themselves. The Idaiyans used to live in northern portion of Trichi (Triuchirapalli or Trichnapoly) called Ayarpadi. Although some Yādavas became Christians in the nineteenth century, the Hindu Yādavas built Krishna temples and ran schools for their children, and by 1918, they had started teaching English in the Yadukul Sangham Dharma Pathasala, and their temples had property worth 500,000 in 1902 (*Yādava*, April, 1961). In Madurai, the Idaiyans established an elementary school, called Yādava School, as early as 1904 (Thurston, 1909, II: 364). In Madurai, the Yādavas have one college for women and another for the men. They have their hostels in various places and are coming up in the field of education, business and industry. The Konars are found in a variety of professions, as college professors, in white-collar jobs, business and milk-selling. The rich Yādavas donate liberally to the establishment of educational institutions and building of hostels for Yādavas.

In Tamil Nadu, Ramarangnal, Viramani Yādava, D. Nagendhiran, S. Laxmanana, Tamil kudimagan, V. Kalaimani, etc. are waging a relentless social, educational and political struggle for the Yādavas. The movement started by Ramaswamy Periyar and later on continued by Annadurai was joined by the Yādavas as they saw in it a way to salvation from the clutches of the brāhmanical dominance and freedom from many evils. Ramarangnal played an important part in the movement and he was a prominent leader of the movement. He was incharge of the cultural wing of the party, himself an artist, actor and film producer of eminence. Viramani Yādava is the child of the Dravida Kazhagam movement. He is all for it. He is the head and heart of it. He has sacrificed his comforts and life for it. D. Nagendhiran, a retired officer of cooperative department, devoted his entire life in organising the Yādavas of South under the banner of All India Yādava Mahasabha. He has been the General Secretary of this august body from 1983 to 1989 and Vice-President thereafter. He is a relentless organiser. S. Laxmana is a successful businessman of standing, an organiser and a leader of the Yādavas. He has been the Vice-President of the All India Yādava Mahasabha and President of the Tamil Nadu Yādava Mahasabha. Presently he is General Secretary of the All India Yādava Mahasabha. V. Kalaimani, former university teacher of Tamil, editor of '*Namadhu Yādavam*' (in Tamil and English), and a leader of the Yādavas of Tamilnadu. Tamilkudimagan taught Tamil literature in Yādava College Madurai, worked

as Principal of this college, and contested election on D.M.K. Party ticket, was elected to the Tamilnadu Legislative Assembly and was elected its Speaker in 1988. In these Assembly elections, the Congress Party, as usual, gave only two tickets to Yādavas of Tamilnadu, whereas the D.M.K. Party gave four tickets, and all of them came out successful at the huntings.

The Yādavas of Tamilnadu are poorly represented in services. They are educationally and socially backward. They do not leave their age-old occupations of agriculture, cattle rearing and serving as agricultural labourers. Only a few Yādavas can be called rich. They lack organisation and dedicated workers. Due to the efforts of the All India Yādava Mahasabha some progress has been made in their awakening and organisation.

There is a growing conflict between the Yādavas and the upper non-Brāhmaṇa castes such as Vellalas and Gounders. For instance, Barnett (1970) points out the occurrence of violent conflict between the Yādavas and Kontaikkatti Vellala Mudaliar, in the 56 village-cluster where the latter are dominant. The Yādavas refused to bend down their goats and to bring free goat's milk to the Mudaliars during the festival of Pongal. They also refused to serve the Mudaliar priest by holding the tray during the Amman festival. For this the Mudaliars had the affluent Yādavas beaten up, but, in spite of this, the temple festival had to be stopped. The Yādavas who were goatherds have become milk-sellers and have acquired some money and have begun to assert their independence from the Vellalas. (Rao, 1979:185).

Yādavas In Bihar

The Yādavas formed the single largest caste in Bihar (in 1931). They started organizing themselves in 1909, thanks to the efforts of Sivanandan Prasad Mandal and Lakshmi Narayan Mandal. They formed a Gopal Mandali on 21 May, 1909, which was the beginning of caste awakening. There was a larger conference under the presidentship of Jayanarayan Mandal, in which it was decided to call the Gopal Mandali, the Gopajatiya Sabha (Association of Gopa Castes). It laid down its aim as reforming caste customs, creating educational facilities and affiliating the local Gopa associations with the 'Sabha'. Other leaders connected with the organization of the Sabha were Ras Bihari Mandal (father of B.P. Mandal, ex-Chief Minister of Bihar) and Brij Bihari Mandal. The leaders toured all over Bihar, U.P. and Haryana (then Panjab), and in December 1911 organised the first conference at Madhepura under the presidentship of Sunderlal Chaudhari. The second conference was held in Patna in February, 1913 under the presidentship of Damodar Prasad. Swayambar Das who was the Deputy Inspector of Schools took a leading part in the organization of the conference. The third conference was held in December, 1913 at Purnea, under the Presidentship of Ras Biharilal Mandal. At this conference a working Committee was formed with members drawn from Bihar, U.P., C.P., and Panjab.

Its fourth conference was held in December 1914 at Chapara under the Presidentship of Rao Balbir Singh of Rewari. The conference addressed itself specifically to two issues,

increasing educational facilities for the Yādavas and employment opportunities for the educated in the Government. The conference appointed a group of six prominent Gopas (Yādavas) with Damodar Prasad of Patna to lead a deputation to the Chief Secretary of the Bihar-Orissa government and the Inspector-General of Police (for recruitment to the police).

A major agitation of the Gopajatiya Sabha in 1911, centred round two prominent issues the donning the sacred thread and the cultivation of the custom of *begar* (forced-labour). The leaders of this agitation were Raghuvir Rawat, Nirgun Singh and Raja Arganu Singh Yādava of Patna, Sital Prasad Yādava, Swami Ramcharan Saran, Sritilal Yādava and Tilokidas Yādava of Monghyr, Ragunandan Chaudhari of Bhagalpur and Ganga Prasad Yādava of Muzaffarpur district. As a result of their efforts the Yādavas started wearing the sacred thread (*Janeu*) with great enthusiasm at a public meeting and the Bhumihars with a strength of five to six thousand attacked the meeting and a violent fight ensued between the two groups, which was quelled by the military (Rao, 1979 : 137).

The tenth conference of the Gopajatiya Mahasabha, held in January, 1922, was significant because the Bengal Yādavas joined hands with the Bihar Mahasabha, and four of them were on the managing committee: Navadip Chandra Ghosh, a leading Bengali Yādava advocate of Patna High Court was one of them. The conference sent a deputation led by Vallabh Prasad Yādava, Navadip Chandra Ghosh, and Bhuvaneswari Prasad Mandal MLC, to press for educational and employment benefits. Thus, in 1920s the modern political elite and professionals started assuming leadership positions. In 1923, the Bihar Yādava Mahasabha emerged as a pivotal organisation enlisting the cooperation of the Yādavas from various parts of India, and consequently AIYMS came into existence in 1923 although its first annual conference was held in 1924.

In 1970, Bihar had the highest number of professional Yādava politicians. There were 13 MPs from Bihar out of a total of 22 MPs from all over India, and there were 37 MLAs in 1970 as against 27 in 1957. It may be noted that the Yādavas play a significant role in Bihar politics. They challenge the monopoly of Brāhmaṇas, Bhumihars and Rajputs.

In 1989 Lok Sabha Elections, 10 Yādava MPs, out of 22 from all over India, were elected from Bihar, and later on Lalu Prasad Yādava became the Chief Minister of Bihar. 56 MLAs were elected in Bihar in January, 1990 Assëmbly elections. It was a creditable achievement for the backwards in general and for the Yādavas in particular to have a Yādava Chief Minister in a State like Bihar. The new Chief Minister introduced revolutionary economic and social reforms in the backward state. The election of Lalu Prasad Yādava as Chief Minister of Bihar is viewed as the rise of Yādava power. Earlier, Mulayam Singh Yādava became the Chief Minister of U.P.

The Yādavas of Bihar have been on the forefront in the freedom struggle of the country, politics, social reform movement and educational advancement. Daroga Prasad Rai had been its Chief Minister. Lalu Prasad Yādava became the Chief Minister in 1990. Ram Jaipal Singh, Ram Lakhan Singh, Ramanand and many Yādavas have been senior ministers in Bihar. The number of Parliament Member never crossed ten at any given time. Ramlakhan Singh Yādava is a prominent leader of the community. More than 150 colleges, schools and other institutions are either managed by him or are in his name. He is a very influential person,

a social reformer, a former President of the All India Yādava Mahasabha and a crusader of social reforms. Bindeswari Prasad Singh Yādava, a founder member of the Mahasabha, its former General Secretary for long, a former member of Rajya Sabha, a freedom fighter and a reformer is an advocate of the Patna High Court. R.P. Yādava, Harender Nath, K.K. Mandal, Ram Swarup Yādava, Prakash Chandra, Lalu Yādava, Hukamdev Narain Singh Yādava (a fire-brand orator), Viṣṇa dev, Lalita Yādava, Mahabir Yādava, Jagdambi Prasad Yādava, Gyaneshwar Prasad Yādava, Sheo Narain Yādava, etc. are prominent personalities in the field of politics and social sphere.

Yādavas In U.P.

In Uttar Pradesh, Ram Sewak Singh Yādava was prominent socialist leader, who fought a relentless war for the poor and down-trodden within and without Parliament. Rajit Singh Yādava gave his whole life in organising the Yādavas of the all India under one name — YĀDAVA, and under one banner—The All India Yādava Mahasabha. He imbibed the spirit of Gita in the Yādavas and made them conscious of their historical and cultural heritage. He had been the founder member of the Mahasabha, and toured the whole country to organise and socially reform the Yādavas. His life was very simple of high ideals. He is called the 'Yādava-Gandhi'. Ram Bachan Yādava, Ram Gopal Singh, Harmohan Singh, Parmanand. Shanti devi Yādava, Jagannath Yādava, Multan Singh Yādava, Ishadutta Yādava, Kailash Yādava, Shanti Yādava (President, Mahila Yādava Mahasabha), Nawal Singh Yādava, Udai Pratap Singh Yādava, D.P. Yādava, and thousands of other Yādavas sacrificed their time, energy, money and intellect for the betterment and upliftment of the Yādavas. They fought on social, political and economic fronts and made the Yādavas to stay in the mainstream of the national life.

Mangalnath Bapu, a *sadhu*, did a pioneering work in the field of education of the Yādavas of rural areas by collecting donations, opening new schools and hostels in Gujarat. Ghelubhai Māḍama Jethābhai Danabhai, Naran Bhurabhai, Khumji Bhai, Pethal ji bhai and a lot of others have been actively working for the upliftment of the Ahirs of Gujarat. There is still not cooperation among the various branches of Yādavas of Gujarat. Jadejas, for instance, are not counted among the Ahirs, nor Bharavads are included among any one of them. If the Jadejas or Bhatti Yādavas are considered Rajputs and so hated, the Bharavads are despised upon as cattle and sheep breeders, though all profess and call themselves the scions of Yadu. A time is not far away when all will unite and treat every branch with equal respect.

Rajit Singh and Ram Gopal Singh Yādava of Kanpur took the Mahasabha to the South and created a bridge among the North and South. Only Yādavas due to their ethnic and cultural affinity can prove a strong bond of integration among the North and South, and East and West. This is the only important, martial and strong caste which is inhabiting throughout India. No other caste—except Brāhamaṇas and Chamars, is found in all parts of India. If Yādavas are strong and in high positions in public life in any part of the country, Indians need not worry about the safety, security and integrity of the country. North-western part is always

in danger, because Yādavas are not inhabiting that part of the country. The policy of government and its laws pertaining to purchase or transfer of agricultural land are solely responsible for the faulty defence of north-west. The Yādavas be given land on these frontier provinces, that is Rajasthan, Panjab and Jammu and Kashmir, and then the country shall be safe and secure from outside intrusion or infiltration.

As stated earlier two veteran leaders, Rajit Singh and Ram Gopal Singh took the banner of Yādava Mahasabha to the South through Andhra Pradesh when they came into contact with Pollom Veeraiah, D. Augmaiah, Jangit Ballaiah, D. Ramlal of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, and C.R. Thiruvengdam of Madras, Sarthi of Trichy, E. Rangaswamy—the pioneer of Yādava movement in the South, C. Govindarajan, T.A. Chokkalingam, C.V. Tirunvekadam Pillai, etc. Chakrapani, K.P. Reddiah, Swaminaraim, Ishwar Lal, and number of others of Andhra Pradesh kept the flame of Mahasabha uphold in their State.

Yādavas In M.P

D.P. Rohan, Jagannath Yādava, Jhumak Lal Rawat, B.L. Yādava, and others have actively organised the Yādavas of Madhya Pradesh. They have kindled the hope of the Yādavas in this most backward state of the country, where Yādavas, like their brothers of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa are leading a tribal life in the hills and forests. They are despised, exploited and badly treated by all. Once they were the masters of the land, now they serve as menials in the houses of others. They are educationally and socially backward and deserve, according to the Mandal Commission Report, a preferential treatment and reservation in the matter of admissions in the schools, colleges and professional institutions along with the services. So far an important caste of the society remains backward, India cannot be strong and safe from outside invasions. Only brave Yādavas, along with other martial castes, can defend the motherland, and not intelligent persons of non-martial castes.

The Yādavas in M.P. have organised themselves into associations of several territorial levels. The *Ahir Mitra Mandal* (Ahir Friends Society) was established in 1923 at Indore under the leadership of Sergeant Ram Dayal Yādava, who was in the Ahir company of Maharaja Holkar of Indore. The society was active participant in the programmes of prohibition of liquor in 1936, and in the anti-forced labour (*begar*) movement. The name of *Mandal* was later changed to *Ahir Kṣtriya Sabha*. In 1951, the *Sabha* came to be known as Madhya Bharat Yādava (Ahir) Sangha and was affiliated to the AIYS. Another Yādava Sangha in Ujjain was affiliated to the AIYS in 1952, as was the Surguja District Sangha in 1965 (Rao, 1979: 173). The Jabbalpur Yādava Sangha has an *Yādavāśrama* and a temple for Yadukumar, where it held its meetings. Now almost all the local associations, including the M.P. Yādava Sabha, whose President is Jagannath Yādava, are affiliated to AIYMS.

Yādavas In Rajasthan

The Yādavas of Rajasthan are a part of greater Ahirwal which was torn into pieces particularly in 1857 as a 'reward' of their armed struggle against the British regime. There

are about four lakhs Yādavas in Rajasthan, and more than 5,000 in the city of Jaipur. Karuali was a Yādava state prior to independence. Some are settled in Ajmer, Nasirabad, Kota, Alwar cities. But most of them live in rural areas. Rao Gopi Lal Yādava (Jaipur) presided the annual session of AIYMS held at Kanpur in 1952. In Rajasthan Yādavas are known as Ahirs. The Rajasthan Ahir Sabha was registered in 1965, but before that there were informal local associations working for the welfare of the Yādavas, albeit in cities. The encouragement received from the leaders of AIYMS led the Ahirs of Rajasthan to organise themselves at the district and the state levels. Out of 26 districts of Rajasthan, 10 boast of Ahir Sabhas. These are Jaipur, Kota, Buṇdi, Sawai Madhopur, Tonk, Alwar, Sikar, Jhalawar, Bikaner and Ajmer. In 1990, there were four MLAs, one State Minister in Rajasthan and one MP.

Swami Kshetra Nath took initiative and then active interest in working for the educational welfare and social and spiritual reformation of Yādavas. He was responsible for establishing more than two dozen primary schools, one dozen secondary and senior secondary schools and multipurpose schools. He established one Yādava Hostel in Alwar, and laid the foundation stone of another at Jaipur in 1989. The hostel was built by the voluntary contribution of the Yādavas of Rajasthan. P.S. Yādava, a retired sessions judge, Dr. Kam Singh Yādava, Ganpat Ram, I.A.S., Nathu Ram Yādava, Rajendra Bharati, Rai Singh, SSP (Rtd.), Mohan Lal Yādava, etc. have taken the initiative for the hostel. Earlier they established one Yādava High School in Jaipur city. Now there are schools in every Yādava village and the Yādavas take keen interest of their male wards, ignoring the female wards.

Yādavas In Assam And Bengal

The Yādavas of eastern region returned themselves as Goalas and Sadgopas in 1891 census, and their population in Bengal was more than four million. They have surnames like Ghose, Pal, Bahri, Barik and Dhali, and are divided into several sub-castes, such as, Pallava, Bagri or Ujaini, Barendra Goalas, Rahri Goalas, Maghai (from Bihar), Gopos and Sadgopas (Bhattacharya 1896: 238-9). The Bengal Yādavas started organizing themselves in the early 1920s, and established the Bangiya Gopa Samiti in April 1922, under the Chairmanship of Bankey Behari Ghose, an advocate, and the meeting was held in the house of Surya Kumar Ghose in Shyam Bazar, Calcutta. The Samiti's name was changed in 1930 s to Bangiya Yādava Mahasabha which started a monthly journal, *Yādava Kesari* (in Bengali), which is still in existence. In 1928, the nationalist minded Gopa youths established a youth association, which actively participated in the national movement, while the BYM concentrated on the educational and economic issues.

With the initiative of Hari Mohan Ghose, son of Dwarika Nath Ghose, poor Yādava students were given economic aid and also facilities of boarding and lodging in their own house in 1929. In 1933, Dwarika Nath Ghose's second son, Nishikanto Ghose built two extra rooms in his house, to provide lodging and boarding for the Yādava students. In 1944, a building was rented for a hostel, and the expenses of all sixteen students were borne by

Nishikanto Ghose. In January, 1947, a public meeting was held to raise funds for building a hostel. The committee included Dr. Nagendra Nath Ghosh, Chairman, Nishikanto Ghose, Mohit Mohan Ghosh, Asutosh Ghose and Dulal Chandra Ghose. On 10 February, 1959 when the building was completed the Paschima Banga Yādava Chhatrabash (West Bengal Yādava Students Hostel) was registered. Eminent Yādavas from different walks of life, such as, lawyers, medical practitioners, teachers, contractors, businessmen and white-collar workers from Calcutta, Howrah, Burdwan and the 24 Parganas helped it. More prominent Yādava leaders of the Bengal Yādava movement were Rash Behari Ghose and Swami Abhutananda, a famous disciple of Ramkrishna Paramhansa.

The Sabha established schools, Hari Mohan Ghose College, a charitable dispensary, a cooperative store, and many scholarship funds for the Yādava students: the Manmohit Ghosh Scholarship Fund, the Budhmati Devi Scholarship Fund for women, and the Alakh Ram Rawat Scholarship Fund which is the largest. It operates on all India basis and was established by Lakshmi Prasad Rawat. The Yādavas have their own cooperative banks and cooperative stores to help the Yādavas. Mohit Mohan Ghosh, Nilaratan Sinha, Kali Pada Ghosh, Manoranjan Ghosh, Shyama Pada Ghosh, Mahadeva Nayak, Netai Pada Ghosh, Kartik Chandra Kapas, Santana Abu, Ashit Ranjan Ghosh and Trilochan Nath, Asit Raya Suresh Ghosh, Jai Narain Yādava, Kamal Ghosh, Ram Nath Yādava are the prominent leaders of West Bengal.

There are about 20,000 Yādavas in Assam and other eastern states. In Assam they established the Chargola Vali Yādava Sangha in 1951, under the leadership of two brothers, Murlidhar and Ganesh Prasad Yādava. In 1953, The Sangha widened its membership to include Yādavas of Kachhar district. A school was established in Harintila, which also provides a centre for other activities (Rao: 174, 175, 176). Ram Lal Yādava, Advocate, Gauhati, G.L. Ghosh, (Smt.) Putul Rani Ghosh, Agartala (Tripura), etc. are prominent Yādava leaders.

Yādavas In Maharashtra

Of all the Yādavas according to M.S.A Rao (176-178) the Dabhole Gavlis of Konkan were the earliest to organise themselves for educational and other welfare activities. In Byculla (Bombay), Kaluram Mahadik had a big chawl, and a big buffalo stable. Others, mostly migrants, owned houses in Chandanwadi, Sonapur, Walkeshwar and Girgaum. While some were in business, such as dairy farming, printing, shopkeeping, many were white-collar workers and factory workers. In 1903 the Yādavas established the *Yādava Śikshana Pracharak Mandali* in Bombay (*Yādava Patrika*, 1949). The founders were mostly from Mahad and Khed Talukas of Konkan. Parsuram Khedekar, a relative of Vithal Rao Khedekar, was its secretary. Gajanan Mahadji Ghataval was its other influential leader. The organization set up schools, gave scholarships to deserving Yādava students, organised mobile reading rooms, and lectures with magic lanterns as visual aids, and also preached against alcoholism. It established consumer cooperatives for the Yādavas.

In April 1920, the *Yādava Gopala Mandala* was setup. Its membership was limited for Dabhole Gavalis, but it cooperated with the associations of allied Yādavas and other castes. Some of its founder members were B.T. Pawar, C.H. Latke, G.T. Chile and G.G. Badangale. The first conference was held on 8 May 1921 with Purushottam Lakshman Chile, a leading advocate of Poona, as the President. Dr. S.S. Ghole (1833-1900), a Gavali from Gopalgadh, became a famous surgeon in Poona. He was a councillor in the Poona Municipal Committee for sixteen years and was responsible for the famous Khadakvasala water supply scheme. In the 1880s he opened a school for the Yādavas in Poona, and in 1887 he was honoured with the title of Rao Bahadur. The second conference (in 1922) was presided over by Dr. V.R. Khedekar. In 1944, the Mandal celebrated its Silver Jubilee at Thakurdwar Bombay under the presidentship of G.G. Kamble.

In 1943, the Mandal started a Marathi quarterly—*Yādava Patrikā*—in Bombay, with S.V. Bhalekar, K.K. Khedekar and J.R. Yādava as editors. In 1946 they formed a trust and Yādavas of Bombay, Pune, Thana, Kathiawad and Kolhapur contributed open-heartedly, prominent donors were M.B. Kotkar Brothers (Bombay), Shanta Ram, Shamarao Ghole and Kashinath Gandpat Dage of Pune, and Bhalekar Brothers and Kamble Brothers of Bombay. Most of the Yādavas had associated themselves with the Marathas in the past, but they are trying to segregate themselves from that group and are establishing their independent identity as Yādavas.

The Yādavas of Kerala

The Yādavas in Kerala are known by different names and titles, such as, Ayana, Mayana, Kotayana, Maniyani, Kona, Konara, Karayalara, Kṛṣṇanwaka and Ūrāli Nair (Ūrāli = ruler of a village).¹ Thurston, who conducted research in caste system of India, has recorded that occupation of Kolayanas are cattle rearing and masonry work of temples. The basis of conclusions of Thurston was the Census Report of the year 1901. From this it could be reasonably inferred that the decline of the Yādavas of the Malabar area had set in even before 18th century. The economic backwardness pushed down the community to the bottom of social respectability. The Yādavas could not achieve progress in acquiring proper and timely education. A major portion of the community was forced by circumstances to slave under landlords as agricultural labourers and servants. They were incapable of thinking about their plight or devising ways for their emancipation and amelioration. Even though nominally, during the last two decades a section of the community has established their unity through education and foreign jobs.

The Mandal Commission Report has recommended their inclusion in the 'Other Backward Castes', yet the delay for inclusion of the Yādavas in the list of backward castes is due to lack of their organizational strength. Even this achievement was made possible by

1. Thurston, E., *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras, 1909, Vol. VII, p. 242.

the persistent efforts of late Shri A. V. Kunhambu, when he was a member of Rajya Sabha. Still, this community has not received the consideration it deserves from the authorities. The All India Mahasabha, in general, and the Kerala Yādava Sabha, in particular, have been doing yeoman's service to ameliorate the condition of the Yādavas of Kerala. The All India Yādava Mahasabha, by its sustained efforts, could bring the Yādavas to the forefront in all spheres of life, yet the Yādavas of Kerala will have to make ceaseless efforts and some permanent arrangements to enable their brilliant youngsters to continue their education and secure suitable position in the mainstream of the national life.

Tradition traces the origin of Krishnawaka caste to Āmāpādi, a place near Mathura, whence they are said to have migrated to Canjivaram and from there to Travancore. There is reason to believe that these people once belonged to Yādava Tribe, one of whose chiefs named Ay Andiran, the Aeoī of Ptolemy, is said to have ruled over a large portion of Travancore before the commencement of the Christian era. The Krishnanawakakkār did not bring sufficient number of women with them when they migrated to this state and some of their men, therefore, married local women and, though originally *makkathāyis* (patriarchal), adopted *marumakkāthāyam* (matriarchal). The rest married in their own community and followed *makkathāyam*. Both these sections still exist, the *marumakkathāyis* having adopted the Malayali habits and customs. Among the *Makkathāyam* section post puberty marriage is allowed, but marriage is compulsory. The dowry system prevails as among the Brāhmaṇas, and polygamy is permitted. When a man dies his younger brother takes his deceased brother's widow as his wife. Even if the younger brother has already got a wife he accepts his brother's widow also as another wife. This generally happens, especially if the widow is young. The *Marumakkathāyam* section is in the minority. The two sections do not intermarry nor do their women interdine. The *Marumakkathāyam* section follows the Nāyar Regulation in portioning their Tarawād properties. There is a move on the part of the younger generation of the two sections to bring about a fusion between them. Their number has increased from 9,684 to 12,032 since 1921, i.e. by 24.2 per cent.

Yādavas or Idaiyas are a pastoral class of people found chiefly in Thovala Agasthiswaram, Kalkulam and Shenkotta taluks. They are also known as Paundans in Thovala, Vadugidayar in Shenkotta, and Kōnār in some other Taluks. The Yādavas found in the southern taluks are supposed to have come from the Tamil districts of the Madras presidency in very early times. Their mother-tongue is Tamil and they are mostly Tamilian in their manners and customs. In South Travancore marriage is compulsory for their girls, but it may take place before or after puberty. The Yādavas are *Makkathāyis* and their traditional occupation is cattle breeding. The number returned at 1921 census was 8,457.

Variation in Caste, Tribe and race since 1901

	1931	1921	1911	1901
Krishnanwaka	12,032	9,684	10,429	8,999
Yādavas Idayan	8,457	7,751	7,598	6,201
Hindu	3,134,888	2,549,664	2,282,617	2,035,615

Source : Census of India 1931

Vol. XXVIII Travancore, Part I, Report by N. Kunjan Pillai Trivandrum, 1932, pp. 373, 374, 392.

Yādavas Of Gujarat

Geographically the region between Ujjain and Sindh and Sindh and Śūrapāraka (Sopārā), the Western sub-division of Bhāratavarṣa, came to be known as Aparānta. The region to the West of an imaginary line between the Aravalli and the Sahyadri ranges including Sindh, Gujarat and Konkana was Aparānta. In other words, it was western Bhāratavarṣa. Some branches of the Yādavas, such as, the Bhojas, the Rāṣṭrikas, etc., including others as presumably the Pittinikas belonged to this country called Aparānta or Western India.²

Ānarta signifies north Gujarat. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* call that region Ānarta, the capital of which was Kuśasthali, Puṇyajuna Rākṣasas destroyed Kuśasthali with the help of the Dravids (perhaps they were also Yādavas) and after its destruction Dwārakā was founded by Śrī Kṛṣṇa and his clan³ where they began to rule. K.P. Jayaswal maintains that the Ābhīras of Gujarat were the same as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Aśoka and the Yādavas of Mahābhārata.

After the Yādavas or Rāṣṭrakūṭas settled down in this region it came to be known as Saurāṣṭra.⁴ In modern times only the Southern part of Kathiawar is known as Sorāṭha; but in the ancient times the whole of it was known as Saurāṣṭra. According to Ptolemy the limits of Saurāṣṭra extended from the sea-coast of Kathiawar to Broach. The Yādavas are in majority till date in the Sorāṭha region, their ancient home. This name was selected perhaps because of the natural richness of the province; from very old times the country was famous for its natural wealth. The Yādavas used to select good places to give these good names where they settled. The name Sorāṭha did not out of vogue. It was in popular use right up to the eighteenth century when the Marāṭhas changed it to Kathiawar, after the name of the tribe which offered them the most resistance.⁵ According to the *Bombay Gazetteer* the Southern Gujarat from the Mahi to the river Tāpti was called Lāṭa. The word Lāṭa is derived from Rāṣṭra (Rāṭha) and was known to Ptolemy, Vātsyāyana and others. This was also the home of the Yādavas. This word became applicable wherever the Yādavas went later on. For instance area between Alwar and Narnaul, where Yādavas are settled in majority is also Rāṭha, and there is an old saying: 'Kāṭha Nave, par Rāṭha Nave nā' (Kāṭha may bend, but not Rāṭha). Here Kāṭh may be dry wood or the Kāṭha clan of Yādavas who also figure in great number in the Rāṭha area.

The All India Yādava Mahāsabhā

The All India Yādava Mahāsabhā was established on 17 April, 1924; and held its first session at Purnea (Bihar). Badan Singh Yādava (U.P.) was its first President. Next year its one

2. Jayaswal, K.P., *Hindu Polity*, op.cit., pp. 75-76.

3. *Mbh.*, III, 88, 19 and 24.

4. *Op.cit.*, p. 52.

5. Shastri, D.K., *Gujarāt no Madhyakālina Rajput Itihāsa*, I, 42; *IA*, 1933, 129.

session was held at Gorakhpur under the Presidentship of Dr. R. V. Khedkar on 2 April, and second on 3 December at Chapra under the Presidentship of Kanhyalal Yādava. In 1927, Ballav Das presided the function at Rewari on 4 April, while Rai Bahadur Durga Prasad presided the function at Dalmau on 5 December. In 1928, Calcutta was the venue of the meeting presided by Capt. Rao Balbir Singh, O.B.E. In 1929 Benaras session was chaired by Sunder Singh Yādava. Sarat Chandra Ghosh, an advocate of Calcutta was its General Secretary from 1924-27, Dr. R. V. Khedkar, M.D. of Poona became in 1927, Advocate Kanhyalal Yādava in 1928 and in 1929 Dr. Kamal Kishore Singh M.B. of Calcutta was elected its General Secretary. Following were its Presidents and General Secretaries:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Name of the President</i>
1930	Gaya	Rai Saheb Baldev Singh, Delhi
1931	Baliā	Swambar Das
1933	Jabalpur	Sarat Chandra Ghosh
1934	Fatehgarh	Bihari Shankar Dalaya
1936	Buxar	J. Seru Prasad Kashyap
1939	Calcutta	Nabadwip Chandra Ghosh
1944	Patna	Rao Suchet Singh, Delhi
1946	Sirsa (Allahabad)	Sewnath Singh Yādava, Patna
1947	Benaras	Kedarnath Rohan, Advocate, Sagar
1951	Cuttack	Nabadwip Chandra Ghosh
1952	Kanpur	Rao Gopi Lal Yādava, Jaipur
1953	Motihari	Raghubir Singh, M.P., Agra
1955	Gazipur	Lachmi Prasad Rawat, Calcutta
1956	Barh (Bihar)	Ram Gopal Singh, Kanpur
1957	Calcutta	Rao Birender Singh, Rewari
1959	Deoria (U.P.)	-do -do-
1960	Bombay	Durgaprasad Singh, Calcutta
1962	Rai Bareilly	Srimant Narayan Khirhari, Advocate, Bhagalpur
1964	Muzaffarpur	Ram Gopal Singh, Kanpur
1965	Patna	Rao Birender Singh, Rewari
1966	Delhi	-do -do-
1967	Etawa	-do -do-
1968	Hyderabad	Mohitmohan Ghosh, Calcutta
1969	Gwalior	Banwari Lal Yādava, Advocate, Allahabad
1972	Indore	S. Gopal Krishna Yādava, Madras
1974	Madurai	Mohitmohan Ghosh, Calcutta
1978-80		Bindeswari Prasad Singh, Patna
1980-83	Mathura	Harmohan Singh, Kanpur
1983	Madras	Shyam Lal Yādava, Varanasi
1984	Jabalpur	do do

1986	Durg	Ram Lakhan Singh Yādava, Patna
1989	Bangalore	Shyam Lal Yādava, Varanasi

General Secretaries

Nabadwip Chandra Gosh, an advocate of Patna was its General Secretary from 1930 to 1933, when Bihari Shankar Dalaya took over from him. J. Sera Prasad Kashyap of Kamptee was the next in line from 1935-36. Ram Prasad, Advocate, Patna, was in this office from 1937 to 1939, Ch. Liak Singh, Sikohabad from 1939-44, Jugul Kishore Singh, Calcutta, 1945-47, Durga Prasad Singh, Calcutta from 1948 to 1952, Sewnath Prasad Yādava, M.L.C., Patna from 1953 to 1955; Bindeswari Prasad Singh Yādava, Advocate, Patna from 1956-78, and then from 1980 to 1983. Nil Ratan Sinha, Calcutta was in this office during the period 1978-80. In 1983, D. Nagendhiran of Madurai took over and was in the office till May, 1989 when Laxmana of Madras took over from him.

Besides these two offices, the Mahasabha has six vice-presidents, six secretaries, one treasurer, one auditor and 53 members elected from states, excluding the following others:

- 3 Members from the Ladies Cell
- 1 Member from Life Member's Cell
- 3 Members from the Youth Cell
- 1 Member from Cultural Cell
- 1 Member from Writers Cell
- 1 Member from Sports Cell

total coming to 78. Others may be invited, to attend the Executive Committee meetings, if the President or the General Secretary deem it fit. The body is a representative one and has its All India base. Membership is open to all Yādavas, irrespective of area or political affiliations. Members may be ordinary, i.e., for one year, or for the whole life.

The aims and objects of the Mahasabha have been described in Section IV of its constitution as under:

- a. To create and foster fraternal unity amongst all Yādavas.
- b. To remove illiteracy and spread education by establishing schools, colleges and hostels; and by awarding scholarships and stipends to deserving and meritorious students.
- c. To remove evil customs, to prevent waste of money and inculcate habits of thrift.
- d. To improve social affinities by encouraging inter-state marriages amongst the Yādavas and arranging interstate cultural delegates.
- e. To improve social, moral, cultural and spiritual conditions of Yādavas.
- f. To arrange lectures, demonstrations and exhibitions of Yādavas.
- g. To arrange show fair for the benefit of Yādavas.
- h. To improve physical and economical conditions of Yādavas.

- i. To promote and encourage the spirit and practice of thrift, selfhelp, mutual help, cooperation and good relation with neighbours and to create awareness amongst Yādavas to actively participate in all walks of life.
- j. To devise ways and means from time to time to help Yādavas to achieve their ancestral fame and to foster and propagate the teaching of Holy Gita.

The area of operation is described in the V section of the constitution of the Mahasabha. It is limited to India only. All the affiliated State Yādava Mahasabhas are subordinate to it and carry out the aims and objects of the All India Yādava Mahasabha. Separate youth, ladies, cultural, writers and sports cells function under the Mahasabha. The Mahasabha also controls the educational institutions, charitable trusts, scholarship funds, hostels, auditoriums and all the assets created for the benefit of the Yādava community.

The Mahasabha has a seal bearing the inscriptions 'All India Yādava Mahasabha' with an emblem of Śrī Kṛṣṇa bearing Sudarṣana Cakra in his right hand and conch in his left hand. Its flag is of rectangular shape (3 'X2') in blue colour with an emblem, in the middle Śrī Kṛṣṇa in golden colour.

Bhāratiya Yādava Samgha⁶

The Bhāratiya Yādava Samgha, a splinter group of the All India Yādava Mahasabha, came into being on 26 December, 1928 at Calcutta. Some enthusiastic Yādavas, who were not satisfied with the functioning of the Mahasabha planned to form a more vigorous and active organisation to vent the feelings of the Yādavas in changed political, and socio-economic conditions of the country. Some educationists, like Dr. Parmanand, Gopilal, Ram Narain Rahul (Ram Rahul afterwards), Bihari Shankar Dalaya, etc., founded the Bhāratiya Yādava Samgha with a view to contribute more actively in the freedom struggle of the country. Through this stage the *Samgha* held its first session in Calcutta under the presidentship of Parmanand Yādava. Next session was held in Gaya under Gopi Lal Yādava, the then Principal of Jubilee Braine High School, Rewari on 28 December, 1930, third session under Bihari Shankar Dalaya at Balia on 26.12. 1931, fourth at Fatehgarh under Badan Singh, M.L.C. (Badaun) on 28.12.1934, fifth in Calcutta under Bihari Shankar Dalaya on 28.12.1939, sixth in Sirsa (Prayag) under Ram Narain Rahul on 30.12.1941 and seventh in Patna under Bihari Shankar Dalaya on 30 and 31.12.1944. Thus the sessions were held only in Bengal, Bihar and U.P. only, though it was an all India body. Only in October, 1950, its sole session was held in South in Bangalore. Again the venues shifted to Bihar in 1951 and 1953, the latter session was its silver jubilee session held under the Presidentship of Manna Lal Abhimanyu.

The Samgha played an active role in the Quit India Movement. Brave freedom fighter Mahender Gopa fought valiantly and killed many before he sacrificed his life for the

6. This account is based on the '*Rajat Jayanti Smarak granth*' of the Samgha published in 1954, edited by Swami Ram Charan Saran Shastri, and published by Bihari Sankar Dalaya.

motherland. Many members of the Yādava Samgha were sent to jails. The Samgha opposed the indiscriminate recruitment in the British armed forces during the Councils and Central Assembly were held after the termination of war. The Samgha supported the Indian National Congress in the elections. After independence the Samgha became neutral in politics.

In order to remove illiteracy among the Yādavas, the Samgha made ceaseless efforts to establish educational institutions particularly in rural areas and to encourage students to join these institutions by giving scholarships to needy and brilliant students. Female education was given a preferential treatment. Social and educational reforms were taken vigorously to ameliorate the condition of the Yādavas.

In its annual session at Jahanabad in 1949, the Samgha resolved and demanded that the national language should be Hindi in *Devanagari* script, and should be made compulsory for recruitment in the Central services. Hindi should also be a medium of instruction in colleges and universities. These resolutions were repeatedly passed by the subsequent Samgha sessions. The Samgha, at its Bangalore session, resolved to suggest and demanded the introduction of compulsory military education in all schools and colleges. It advised Yādava youth to join the defence services as commissioned officers. It also demanded that the Film Enquiry Committee should not pass and allow such films which spoil the character and pollute the thinking of our youth.

In the field of social reforms the Samgha exhorted the Yādavas to encourage inter branch (śākhā-clan) and inter provincial marriages of their wards, widow-marriage, and to discourage and fight against untouchability. The Samgha passed a resolution against the ban put on the reprinting of the 14th chapter of *Satyārtha Prakāśa* by the Sindha Government. It also demanded a ban on cow-slaughter in particular and animal slaughter in general. In the political sphere, the Samgha also did not lack behind. Social, educational and political backwardness of the Yādavas and other castes was a matter of great concern for the Samgha. It demanded more representation in the legislatures and political sphere. It emphasised that adequate representation of the Yādavas in every sphere was in the interest of the nation itself. In its Benaras session, in 1953, it demanded and requested the President of India to appoint a commission to prepare a list of backward castes who are educationally and socially backward, and the Yādavas who are such, be included in that schedule. It also demanded due share of Yādavas in the Central and State Government Services.

There are many local organisations of the Yādavas, Ahirs, Gopas, etc., functioning with limited scope and aims. It is a good sign that Yādavas are concerned about their backwardness and want to do something to ameliorate their pathetic conditions. Generally these small organisations meet at least once a year and celebrate Janmashthami (birthday of Śrī Kṛṣṇa) and pass some resolution. Some of them throw light on the condition of the Yādavas, about their customs, social evils, population of the Yādavas, etc. Some of the political leaders also attend these meetings to associate themselves with the community and to capitalise the caste sentiments.

Yādavas and the other Backward Classes

The Yādavas have been playing a leading part in the general backward class movement. In 1953, The President of India appointed a Backward Classes Commission to determine the criteria to be adopted in considering whether any section of people in addition to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes should be treated as socially and educationally backward. The commission headed by Kaka Kalelkar submitted the report in March, 1955. It recommended that caste be the criteria for determining whether any section other than the Scheduled Castes and Tribes were backward (1955:I, 40-50). They endeavoured to follow the middle path, by considering a community backward if a major section of that community was backward according to certain standards : (1) when they had a low social position in the traditional caste hierarchy of Hindu society; (2) when the major section of a caste or community was not advanced as the other caste or communities; (3) when there was inadequate or no representation in government services; and (4) when there was inadequate representation in the fields of trade, commerce and industry. Needless to say, Yādavas fell under these categories.

The Government of India did not accept the recommendations of the commission and their criterion in determining the other Backward classes status, because by those standards more than 25 per cent of the population fell into the category of Backward classes. As the acceptance and execution of this report was in the hands of those against whom it went, they opposed it tooth and nail, and the report was placed in the cold storage. Instead the Government adopted the economic criterion in 1963, and directed all the State Governments to adopt it. The All India Backward Classes Federation has protested against it and has been agitating for the revival of the caste criterion as recommended by the Commission.

In 1959, Jai Narayana Singh Yādava became the General Secretary of the All-India Backward Classes Federation, and on the death of Panjab Rao Deshmukh in 1965, Chaudhari Brahm Prakash (Yādava), MP and ex-Chief Minister of Delhi State, became the President of the All-India Backward Classes Federation. Thus the Yādavas gained control of the All India Backward Classes Federation, which consists mainly of Other Backward Classes from all over India. In March, 1966, the All India Backward Classes Federation held an All-India Backward Classes Conference in Delhi which was attended by more than 1,000 delegates from all over India. Several speakers stressed the fact that the Other Backward Classes were educationally and economically backward and, that, therefore, the caste criterion should be adopted. They pleaded for the abolition of the *Jajmani* system in which the landlords exploited, the artisan and servicing castes and declared that the Brāhmaṇa-Baniya Raj should end. Prominent speakers among other included Ch. Brahm Pradash, B.R. Bhagat, S.D. Singh Chaurasia, Jai Ram Verma, Latchanna of Andhra Pradesh, Ms. Surendra Saini (Delhi), etc. It is notable that the non-Yādava speakers acknowledged the leadership of the Yādavas. Since then, Yādavas and their various organisations are playing a leading role in the backward class movement. Usually the last day session at each of the AIYMS conferences, is devoted to the backward class conference, which is attended by members from other backward castes and scheduled castes. Thus, the Yādava political elite establish an identity

not only with the state and local Yādava associations, but also with the backward class associations. The Yādavas are considered to be the leaders, and the Yādava ideology provides a rationale for such leadership. The top Yādava political elite argues that the Yādavas in *Dwapara yuga* fought an epic war against injustice and inequality under the leadership of Lord Kṛṣṇa.

In the present phase of the cosmic cycle of time, *Kaliyuga*, it is their supreme duty and responsibility, as the descendants of the Yadu dynasty, to fight once again the injustice, and exploitation of the backward classes by the forward classes, in the name of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Hence the Yādavas consider themselves to be the natural leaders of the backward classes which other caste categories concede to, to a great extent, because the Yādavas form the largest single caste among the Other Backward Classes. They protect the backwards from exploitation and physical force.

The movement got momentum, particularly after 1977 Lok Sabha polls when the Janata Party returned to power in the Centre. Due to the concentrated efforts of the leaders of backward classes, the Mandal Commission was appointed by the President of India to suggest measures to uplift the backward classes and to bring at par with others. Brahm Prakash, Chanderjit Yādava, D.P. Yādava, R.P. Yādava, J.N.S. Yādava, Ram Bachan Yādava, Multan Singh Yādava, Rao Birendra Singh, Viramani Yādava, Ram Gopal Singh, Har Mohan Singh Yādava, Ram Naresh Yādava, were the leading Yādavas who played a vital role in this regard. Bindeshvari Prashad Mandal (Yādava) of Bihar, was appointed its chairman. The commission produced a magnificent and scholarly report, and presented it to the President of India on 31 December, 1980. The Commission was 'confined to the terms of reference according to which they had to "determine the criteria for defining the socially and educationally backward classes" and to recommend steps to be taken for the advancement of the socially and educationally backward classes of citizens so identified".

The AIYMS and the Yādava political elite is playing a dominant role for getting the Mandal Commission report implemented. It is hoped that the report would be implemented in the near future, as no sane Government would like to ignore the might and strength of the majority of the population as the strength of democracy depends on the backwards.

The Yādavas made concerted efforts to have a common nomenclature—Yādava—to gain self-respect and feel affinity with their caste brethren all over India. They organised themselves and put up claims to the census commissioner for a change of the local caste names to Yādava, which were recognized. Secondly, Kṛṣṇa cult boosted their morale, and, to a certain extent, to the adoption of such puritan values as the abolition of animal sacrifice, abandonment of the worship of local deities, and the propagation of vegetarianism and teetotalism. Arya Samaj ideology also helped them to reforms. Thirdly, religious and social awareness brought economic awareness among the Yādavas. They became aware of their deprived economic status. In many states, they were obliged to do forced labour to the locally dominant upper castes. With the efforts and cooperation of AIYMS, the Yādavas fought against these evils and came out successful. They also fought for more facilities and favourable working conditions to pursue their occupation of cattle rearing and trade in milk and milk products. In addition to it the Yādavas made concerted efforts through the platforms

of Yādava organisations to demand due share in modern employment opportunities. Petitions, prayers and deputations were used to seek for recruitment to the governmental jobs before and after independence. The Yādavas in all the states, except Haryana, were listed under the category of the Backward classes and as such, were entitled to employment and educational benefits. The AIYMS passes resolutions, holds demonstrations and leads deputations for these benefits.

Fourthly, the Mahasabha put emphasis on the education of the Yādava youths, and for this purpose made special efforts to establish educational institutions, trusts, hostels and scholarships. They also established counselling and guidance bureaus to help Yādava students to gain admissions in professional courses, and wherever possible established their own institutions for these professional courses. The educated Yādavas take interest in guiding the youth, whereas the rich Yādavas give generous financial help for the caste institutions and organisations. The AIYMS, through its annual meetings in various parts of the country demonstrate ethnic solidarity at the national level. It also provides an opportunity for the Yādavas to come together, to renew contacts and to demonstrate ethnicity as a political force, *vis-a-vis* the other ethnic groups. It has an important role in the Yādavas of India.

Yādava Journals

Caste journals play an important part in acting as channels of communication of ideas, events and activities of the associations at all levels. The AIYMS started its official organ, *Yādava* (Hindi) in 1925 from Benaras, Rajit Singh Yādava being its editor for life. When he died, it became the property of his sons. The AIYS started its own monthly journal, *Yādavesh* (Hindi) from 1934. Besides these, there are Yādava journals in almost all the regional languages, which act as a link between the large Hindi speaking Yādavas and other Yādavas speaking diverse languages. Some are :

1. *Yādava-Sansar* (Hindi-English), monthly, Shoha Ram Yādava (editor), New Delhi.
2. *Yaduvani* (Hindi), monthly, Satya Prakash Yādava, Mathura.
3. *Yādava Lahar* (Hindi), monthly, Prarit Yādava, Indore (M.P.).
4. *Namadhu Yādavam* (English-Tamil), monthly, V.Kalaimani, Madras.
5. *Ahir-Sandesh* (Gujarati), monthly, Naranbhai Herbbhai, Junagadh.
6. *Yādava Jyoti* (Hindi), monthly, Dharm Pal Singh Shastri, Varanasi (U.P.).
7. *Yādava Keśari* (Bangla-English), monthly, Calcutta.
8. *Kranti Doot* (Hindi), monthly, Yādava Education Trust, Bareilly.
9. *Yādava* (Telugu), monthly, Andhra Pradesh Yādava Mahasabha, Secundrabad.
10. *Yādavagrah Samachar* (Hindi), monthly, Agra.
11. *Yādava Ghosh* (Hindi), monthly, Muradabad.
12. *Yādava Patrika* (Marathi), quarterly, Gopal Mandal, Bombay.
13. *Yadu Krishna Bhagwan* (Telugu), monthly, Bhimavaram (A.P.).
14. *Yadu Kumar* (Telugu), monthly, Tenals (A.P.), etc.

Besides this, Souvenirs are also brought out by various State Mahasabhas, AIYMS and AIYS on different occasions, such as their Silver Jubilee celebrations, annual conference of the AIYMS, etc. which give ample information about the community, its leaders, rituals, traditions and culture. These souvenirs are generally in more than one language having articles from some Yādavas of repute in addition to local intellectuals and leaders.

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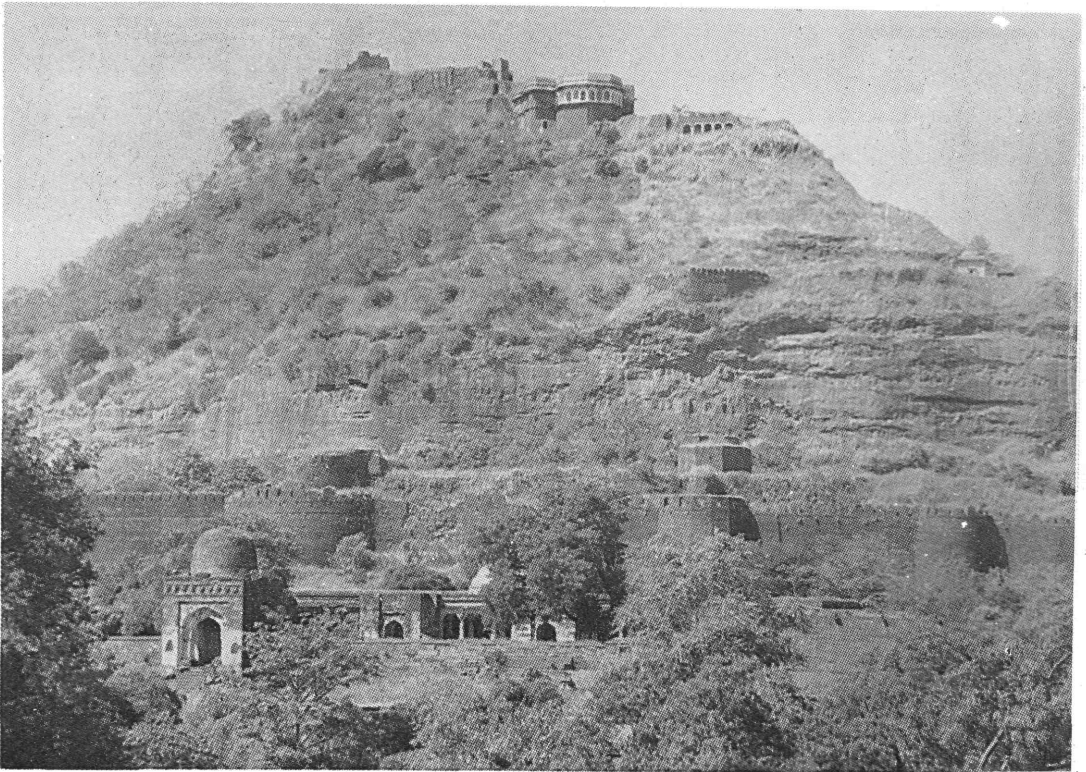
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1. Daulatabad Fort, Close up view



2. Jaisalmer Fort, General View



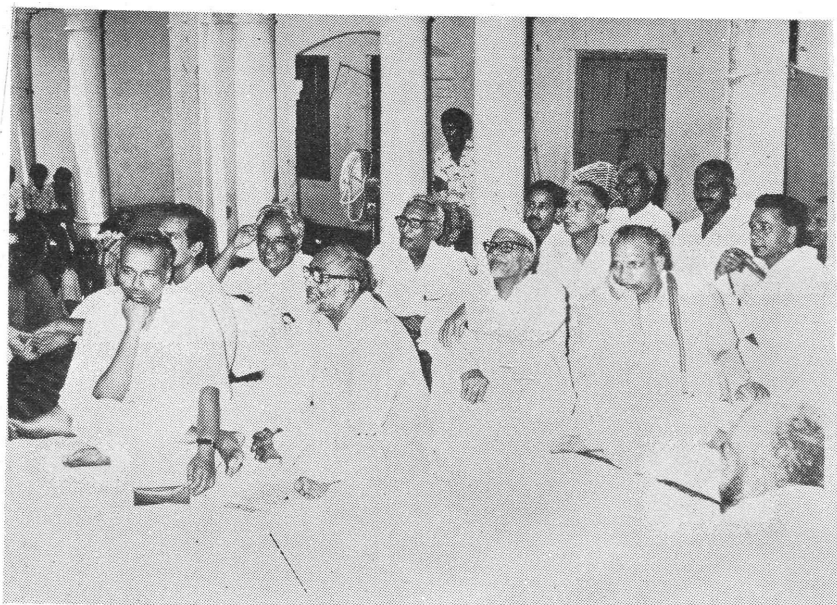
5. Rao Tula Ram of Rewari—A Hero of 1857



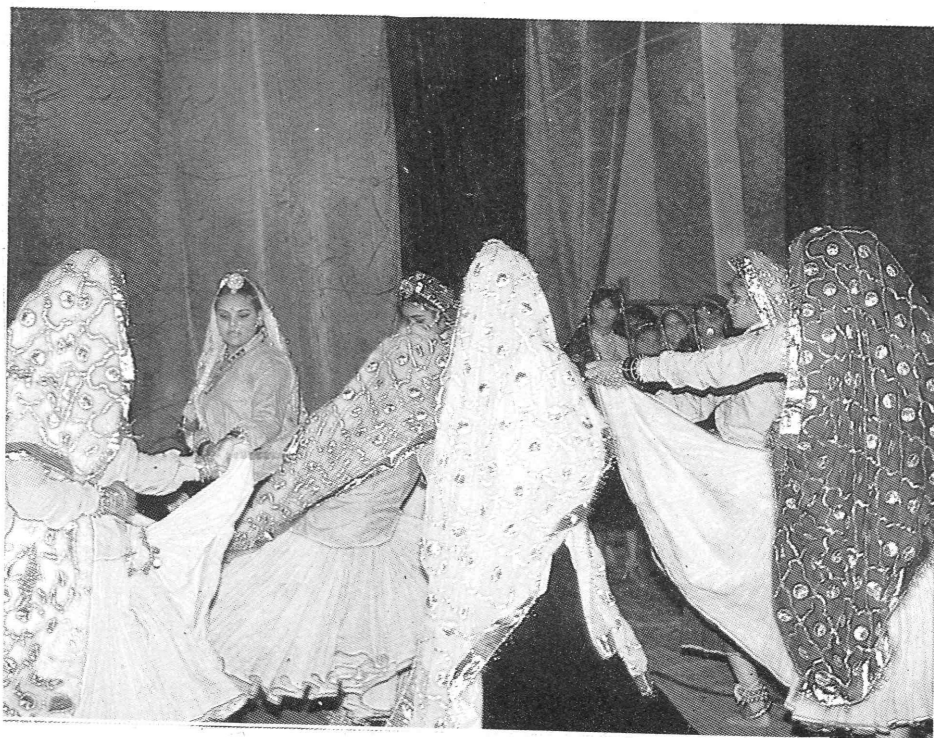
3. Srirangapatnam fortification



4. Thiru Alagumuttu Yadav, A Hero of 1739 A.D.
(The first war of Independence in Tamilnadu)



6. Yadav Leader in a Community Meeting



7. Folk Dance

have been crossed whenever it was necessary for the topic. The present work is a pioneer study of the subject and shall inspire scholars to use it as a source and reference book.

Dr. J.N. Singh Yadav, born on 12 June, 1937 (Bashir Pur, Distt. Mahendragarh—Haryana), did his graduation and M.A. in Political Science from the Panjab University, Chandigarh and obtained the Ph.D. degree from the Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

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The reprint edition contains biographical sketches of both the authors by Satkari Mukhopadhyaya.

PRINCIPLES OF HINDU JURISPRUDENCE ACCORDING TO THE AGNIPURANA AND THE YAJNAVALKYASMRTI

COMPILED, CRITICALLY EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

DR. SURESH CHANDRA BENERJI

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The Hindu codes of religious and social laws are known as Dharmasastra, or smṛiti. The texts belonging to this sastra are many and varied. Besides, there are smṛiti material outlining the principles of jurisprudence may be found in other classes of literature, such as the puranas. Dr. Banerji who has established himself as an authority of the subject has collected and critically edited with an annotated translation the verses from the Agnipurana, an encyclopaedic mythological text, which deals with the basic principles of the Hindu jurisprudence. This forms the first part of the book. The Second part consists texts from the Yajñavalkyasmṛiti in the same subject with translation and adaptation. The work shows the critical and analytical insight of the author. Several glossaries and indexes have greatly enhanced the value of the work.

GYĀRASPUR : A HERITAGE OF EXCELLENCE

DEV RAJ BIRDI

ISBN : 81-85320-12-8, 130 p. 1991, Rs. 200

The valleys of Betwa and Bes, in Madhya Pradesh the central state in India, have cradled, since time immemorial, great centres of culture and civilisation. Gyāraspur, which is now just an obscure village in a gorge of low steep hills, in one of the valleys, had been such a centre. The place abounds in relics and ruined temples belonging to Saivism, Vaisnavism, Buddhism and Jainism. Ancient relics and monuments such as Mālādevī Temple, Hindola Toran, Bajramath, Athakhambā, Buddhist stūpas, Katarmal Bhairav and renowned sculpture of the nymph Śālabhañjikā speak of a lot about the architectural and artistic splendor of Gyāraspur. These monuments and sculptures are of great interest to historians of culture and art. they did attract the attention of archaeologists and historians in the past, and stray mentions of them appeared in Archaeological and administrative reports but no serious studies have so far been done.

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